

Spring 1988 Vol. 20/no.4

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# ROTUNDA

*the magazine of the Royal Ontario Museum*

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**PARIS**  
Oh là là

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**NETSUKE**  
Japan in miniature

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**LAKE MALAWI'S  
EXPLOSIVE EVOLUTION**

**HURON SOCIETY  
TRANSFORMED**

**LAMANAI**  
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# From fashion to fish

Why has Paris remained the capital of Western fashion for more than six hundred years? Why can design centres like New York, Tokyo, and Milan turn heads but not enough to dismiss Paris's lead in the fashion world? With the strong resurgence of Parisian *haute couture* after a hiatus of more than a decade, it was time to ask these questions, and David Livingstone, one of Canada's leading fashion writers, has given us his answers and more. His article takes us behind the scenes to the *ateliers* of Christian Lacroix, currently the hottest designer on the Paris scene, and backstage to the spring fashion shows. Aside from the serious reasons for the pre-eminence of Paris, Livingstone suggests that Paris and Parisians are inherently stylish. Everytime I look at our cover shot of Chanel model Ines de la Fressange during a light moment before she removed the hair rollers, styled her hair, and took her turn on the runway, I think there must be more than a grain of truth in that explanation.

In contrast to the international world of French fashion, netsuke present the world of traditional Japan in miniature. Intricately and cleverly executed carvings of figures, animals, and plants, netsuke are toggles that were worn primarily by Japanese men as part of traditional dress. The netsuke were used to suspend small personal containers or pouches of tobacco, medicine, and other substances from the wearer's obi (waist sash). Visitors to the ROM have the opportunity until October of seeing an exhibition of exceptional netsuke generously lent to us by the collector, Irving Gould. Hugh Wylie tells us the legends represented by six of the netsuke in the Gould collection.

Two of our features let us look once again at the meeting of native New World peoples with European explorers, traders, and settlers. In both cases recent evidence has led archaeologists to reconsider longstanding interpretations. Peter Ramsden explains that contrary to what Champlain believed, the explorer did not encounter a pristine Huron society when he arrived in south-central Ontario at the beginning of the 17th century. Trade between Europeans and Indians on the St Lawrence already had affected indirectly the Indian tribes of the Great Lake regions and beyond. Conversely, David Pendergast discovered, quite by accident, when glancing over some historical maps, that the isolated town of Lamanai, Belize, once must have had an important impact on several European societies. Although archaeologists always consider the effects of European contact on the native peoples of the New World, they have never really considered the other side of the coin.

Finally, if you are weary of the dilemmas and intrigues of the human race, refresh yourself with a look at Lake Malawi cichlids. Ed Crossman tells us about the amazing fish family, Cichlidae, from which at least five hundred and possibly as many as one thousand species live in Lake Malawi. Scientists refer to this extraordinary number of species as explosive evolution, which may have resulted, in part, from the fishes' very complex behavioural patterns. Many of the extremely colourful species and the unusual breeding habits of most cichlids make them popular with aquarists. In addition to their fascination for scientists and fish collectors, cichlids can be a delicious meal.

If humans could only coexist as well as cichlids species, the world certainly would be a more peaceful place. With stories about the whims of Parisians to the diversity of cichlids, we hope you enjoy reading this issue of *Rotunda*.

S.S.

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# ROTUNDA

*the magazine of the Royal Ontario Museum*

Volume 20, Number 4, Spring 1988  
(Date of issue: February 1988)

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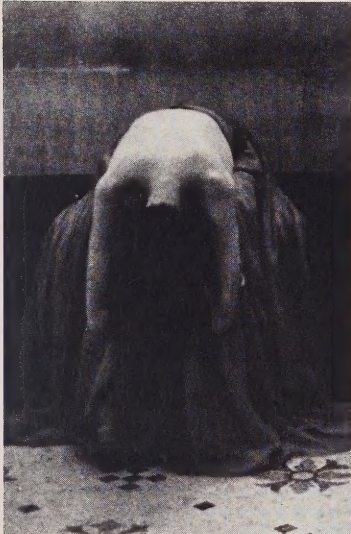
*Twins*

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## COVER

Top Chanel model Ines de la Fressange was caught during a light-hearted moment backstage during the October 1987 spring fashion show. With an incredible degree of calm that few possess, she removed the rollers and arranged her hair, only minutes before her turn on the runway. For the whole story turn to page 30.

Photo by Alain Masson.



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Published quarterly by the Royal Ontario Museum.  
© The Royal Ontario Museum, 1988  
Printed and bound in Canada  
Indexed in the *Canadian Periodical Index*  
ISSN 0035-8495  
Second class mail registration number 1531

### Subscriptions and Single Copy Sales

Subscriptions \$12.00 (4 issues), outside Canada add \$4.00 for postage and handling; single copies \$3.50

All circulation and subscription inquiries should be addressed to *Rotunda*, 511 King Street West, Suite 100, Toronto, Ontario M5V 2Z4, or telephone (416) 591-1381

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## ILLUMINATIONS

### *Advice for young people going out into the field*

I think that I was on my way to participate in the ROM's third season of excavation at Godin Tepe in western Iran—it would have been the early spring of 1969—when I stopped in Oxford to spend a day or two with an archaeological colleague and her husband, and to give the Ashmolean Museum a thorough visit. My friends were, in turn, good friends of Sir Max and Lady Mallowan, who lived in Wallingford-on-Thames, just a few miles downriver from Oxford, and who had kindly invited the three of

us over for dinner.

Sir Max Mallowan was, at the time, the most famous and the most powerful British archaeologist working in the Near East. Some years before, when he was the professor of West Asian archaeology at the Archaeological Institute in London and I was a shave-tail student, he had been most kind to me, and we had seen a good deal of one another since then. Therefore even though I had never been to his home, we were not strangers. I was also quite well acquainted with



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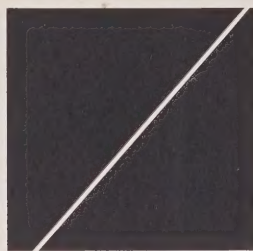
Lady Mallowan. She was a celebrity in her own right: her pen name was Agatha Christie.

As a young man at the outset of his archaeological career, Mallowan worked as field assistant to the great Sir Leonard Woolley, the excavator of the Sumerian city of Ur and of its spectacular royal tombs. It was to Ur that Mallowan took Agatha, his bride, for her first experience of the Near East and of archaeology in the field.

Some years later Agatha Christie wrote *Murder in Mesopotamia*. In that book the wife of the field director is murdered, and, after the usual ins and outs, red herrings, and clever character sketches that are so typical of all of Christie's books, the reader learns that the murderer is the lady's husband. Rumour in my profession had it that Lady Woolley, who was also at Ur with her husband, was something of a dragon. When *Murder in Mesopotamia* hit the book shops, a second rumour began to circulate.

Lady Woolley must have given Mrs Mallowan a particularly hard time at Ur. Some said that there were stories about how Lady Woolley made life simply miserable for that young student Mallowan's wife, and he, poor chap, couldn't speak out for fear of offending his boss, the great Sir Leonard. One can imagine how the story grew in detail and colour as the years wore on. Agatha Christie had wrought her revenge—sweet, quiet, subtle revenge—for those hard times at Ur. My friends and I were chatting about this, by now established, rumour as we drove down to Wallingford for dinner with the Mallowans.

Max and Agatha met us in the garden when we arrived, for she was most anxious to show me her peonies. She greatly fancied that flower, her garden was in the height of blossom, and she knew that my grandfather had been a breeder of peonies. (Later I gave her a Sylvester Red plant, a species that he had bred and that had been named after him. As far as I know, it still grows in Wallingford and is the only one of



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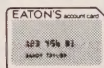


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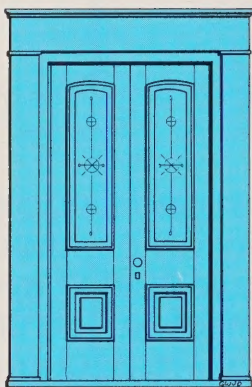
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## — ILLUMINATIONS —

its kind in England.)

From the garden we entered the house for drinks before dinner, and I recall the conversation was about a Ph.D. dissertation, written by a Dane, that dealt with changes in the use of prepositions and conjunctions in English during the last forty years. He had used Agatha's books as his data base because she had published the most words in English during the period of his study. The Mallowans received a complimentary copy of the thesis and I am sure that Agatha dined out on it for some months to come. In any case, the conversation was good, the Mallowan's home was delightful, the butler was most attentive, and I had a couple of refills of whiskey.

On to dinner. The table was set in a most formal manner. I could tell by the plate of chopped onion, eggs, and lemon beside my place that caviar was to come. Sure enough, we were hardly seated when the little round black eggs arrived—fresh from Iran. Agatha explained that since we had known each other mostly in Iran, she thought it appropriate for us to share something Iranian in her home.

Caviar is one of my favourite dishes; in fact, I've often wondered if its availability at rock bottom prices might not have been the real reason why I chose to dig in Iran. Anyway, one always drinks vodka with caviar, and there were two large bottles, well iced, on the table. We all dug—dived—in. There was an abundance of caviar and the first course of dinner lasted the better part of an hour. The conversation ranged from stratigraphy, the Nimroud ivories, peonies, and Land Rover breakdowns that we had shared, to the academic politics at All Souls College in Oxford. Then there was a pause that I broke with a question to Agatha that just seemed to roll off my tongue before I could stop it. Looking across the table straight at her, I enquired whether the victim in *Murder in Mesopotamia* was Lady Woolley, something that I had wanted to know for years.



## ILLUMINATIONS

An entirely different kind of silence fell over our happy group. Neither of my Oxford friends could look me in the eye. It was clear what they were thinking: damn, brash North Americans—they just don't know what questions not to ask. Max was looking at the ceiling; he couldn't even look at Agatha. She was frozen, except for her mouth, which was closed and moving slowly from side to side. She just stared at me, but though I was looking right at her, I could not read her mood. I was scared stiff.

And the silence seemed to go on and on. It felt like ten minutes; it probably wasn't more than thirty seconds. I had offended the Mallowans. This was the end of a good and useful professional friendship. I had ruined their dinner party. I was asininity personified.

Just as it seemed that the walls of the room might crack from the quiet, Lady Mallowan reached out to the centre of the table, picked up the bowl of caviar, leaned forward, smiled directly at me and said: "Cuyler, do have some more. I know how much you like it." There was an exhalation of relief from all sides and the conversation began again in earnest with everyone talking except for Agatha.

Over the years as we came to know each other even better (she kindly invited me to the celebration of her eightieth birthday, also the occasion of the publication of her eightieth book), my foolish question was never mentioned. It was clear to us all that I had never asked it, or, at least, that was the way Agatha Christie chose to treat the matter.

Sir Max and Lady Mallowan died several years ago, and some of the colour is diminished in the lives of those who knew them. But what advice does this story offer to young people going out into the field? Go ahead and be brash. Take a risk. Ask. You can but rely on the kindness and good manners of those approached to answer "no" politely. And what the hell. She *might* have answered.

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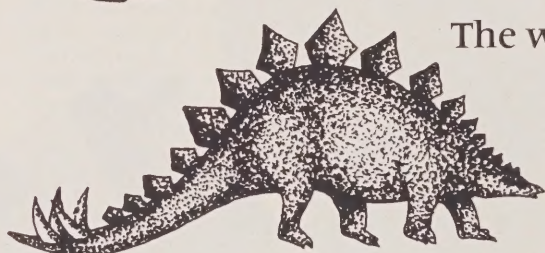
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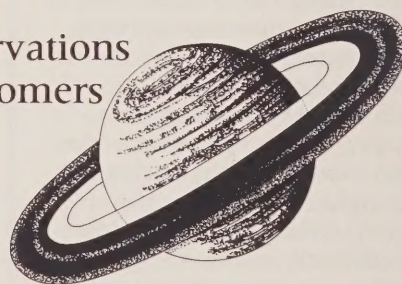


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## The mysterious passage of time

Sky-high prices recently paid for Van Gogh's paintings and the Duchess of Windsor's jewels focused the public's attention once again on the extraordinary values placed on the most desirable of collectables—objects so rare and found so seldom in private collections that they may not come up for sale even once in a lifetime. When they do, it is an event.

Amongst the least known but more captivating items in this category are mystery clocks, the most valuable objects manufactured by the French jewellery firm of Cartier. What makes the clocks so mysterious is the illusion that the hands are suspended freely within a transparent crystal dial; there appears to be no connection between the hands and the movement and no explanation of how the hands became embedded in the crystal. What makes the clocks so valuable is the exceptional gems required for their construction and the fact that they are the handiwork of fourteen craftsmen, each of a different trade, who require a total of about one thousand hours to complete one clock. Fewer than two hundred clocks have been produced to date.

The dial of the clock is not really a single piece of crystal but two pieces, with one hand attached to each piece. The crystal discs must be so flawless and so uniform in colour that when they are brought together to form the dial the illusion is created of a single rock containing the hands. Unlike those of a conventional clock, the hands do not move about the dial; instead the crystal discs are slowly rotated. Toothed metal rims on each crystal disc are driven by worm gears concealed in the frame of the case. The hands circle with the movement of the



PHOTOS COURTESY CARTIER

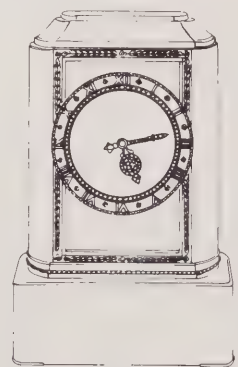
The turtle clock was made in 1925 and the accompanying two statues were commissioned in 1926. The rock crystal turtle (Chinese, 19th century) has cabochon ruby eyes and a gold and enamel saddle cloth. The dodecagonal rock crystal clock with gold and gem-set chapter ring is mounted on a square gold, enamel, and cabochon sapphire plinth. The base is gold, mirror, and gem-set. Flanking the turtle are rock crystal statues of Gautama the Buddha and Krishna playing the flute.

crystal discs. As if this concept were not fascinating enough, many of the clocks have diamond-encrusted hands in the form of dragons that undulate to mark the passage of time.

The first mystery clock was presented to Louis Cartier (1875–1942) by Maurice Coüet (1885–1963) in 1913. The association of Cartier with Coüet was ideal. Louis Cartier, a member of the third generation of his family to manage the firm, was also the jeweller whose designs still define the Cartier look. Coüet, only twenty-eight at the time, was an ingenious and inventive clock-maker, intrigued by the mystery clocks produced by the illusionist Robert Houdin in the 19th century. The Cartier mystery clocks are exquisite and eccentric objects, somewhat in the spirit of the celebrated Fabergé eggs, and so it is fitting that the first clock was purchased by J. P. Morgan, Jr. This clock, the Model A, has a lateral double-axle system to connect the

crystal discs to the movement. The movement is housed in the base of the clock and the axle system in the vertical frame.

In 1920, a single-axle system was used for the first time in a second model. The system runs through a shaft, and in later variations of this design, through a hollow coral sphere. Perhaps the most captivating of the single-axle clocks were the six *portico* clocks completed between



Drawing of the Model A mystery clock. Production of this model commenced in 1913.





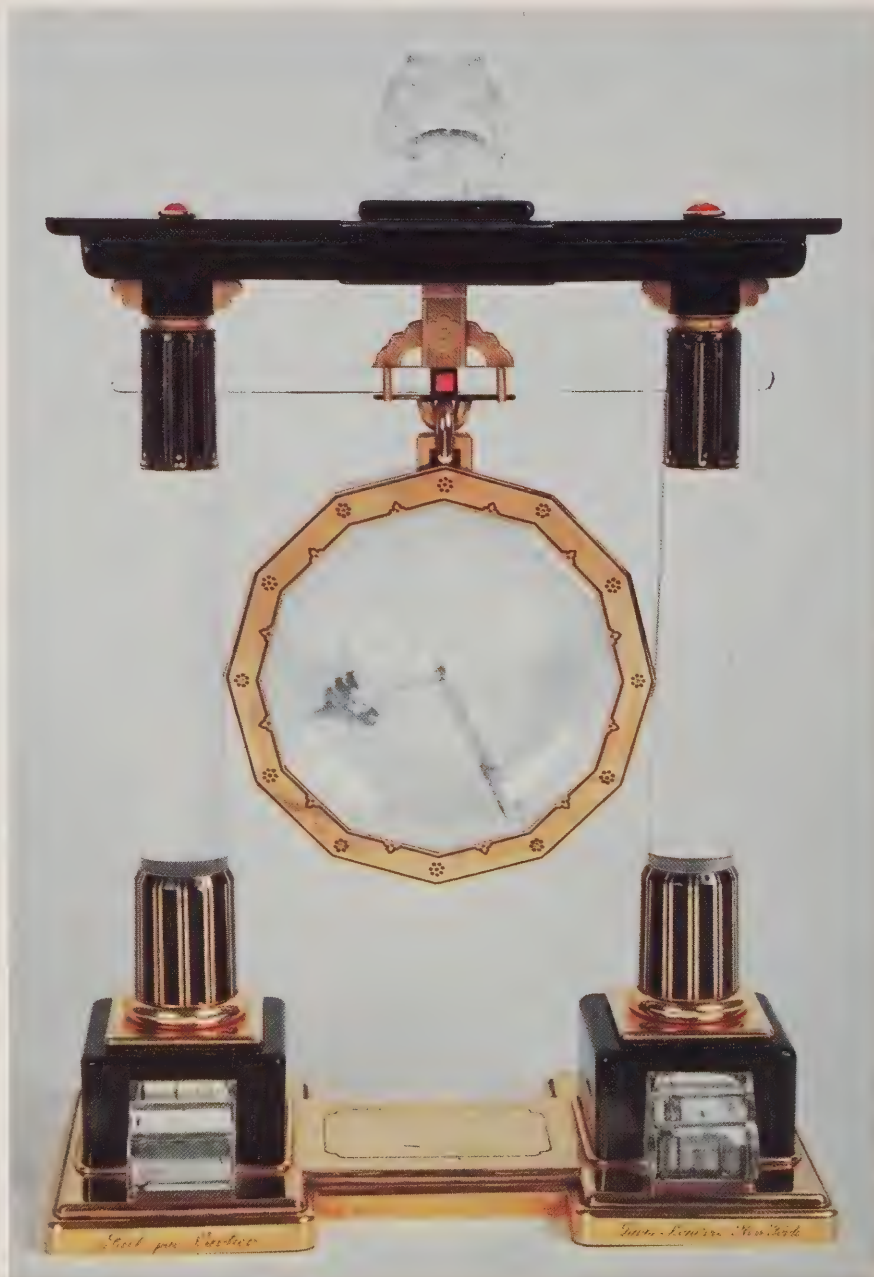
Mystery pocket watch with Roman numerals, housed in a cut-cornered platinum case. Made in 1931, this was Cartier's only mystery pocket watch.

1923 and 1925. Their pendant-shaped dials are suspended from a freestanding Oriental-style *portico*; the movement is most subtly concealed in the roof.

Manufacture of the clocks after the Second World War continued until 1970. To revive their production in 1977, the firm of Cartier was fortunate to locate some of the craftsmen who had worked with Louis Cartier, and who could instruct a new generation in the necessary skills for producing the clocks. In an era of advanced technology, the revival of hand-crafted clocks is the company's tribute to fine craftsmanship.

Whereas many of the case designs of the first clocks were obviously influenced by the decorative arts of the eras of Louis XV and Louis XVI—several clocks even have small period pieces incorporated into their design—the clocks from the 1920s and the contemporary models have the clean lines inspired by art deco.

Perhaps the illusion created for these clocks may be judged by some as more clever than mysterious. But the illusion is not where the real mystery lies. The jewels for the dials are cut most often from rough rock crystals that weigh anywhere from 1500 to 5000 carats and are found in Latin America, Australia, and South Africa. The real mystery is how movements so small in size, so



The temple gate mystery clock was made in 1924. The twelve-sided rock crystal, diamond, gold, and black enamel face has diamond hands suspended within a rock crystal, onyx, and black enamel gate. The entablature comprises a seated rock crystal Buddha and coral beads, onyx, rock crystal, and gold base.


minimal in weight, and so oddly positioned relative to the crystal discs can rotate the discs so that they keep perfect time. Perhaps the only way in which they resemble some of their more conventional counterparts is that like them the mystery clocks must be wound with a key or powered with batteries.

Should you now be interested in acquiring a mystery clock, be fore-

warned that the less ornate models sell for about \$500 000. Yet rest assured that if you do become one of the fortunate owners of one of these rare and splendid objects, it is extremely unlikely that you will ever find an economical replica being hawked on a downtown street corner.

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Murray Costello, president of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association, is wearing a ROM/Team Canada top. Photographed by John Reeves in the Bishop White Gallery, ROM.

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## Vile victuals

How curious we humans are when it comes to food. What one person loves to eat, another abhors, and yet there probably isn't an edible item in the world that everyone, everywhere, would agree is utterly revolting. Snakes, bird embryos, fat white grubs, beefsteak, roast pork . . . each has its defenders and detractors. But whichever side you're on, of one thing there's no doubt: the unspeakable, however it's defined, both fascinates and repels.

What makes a food unspeakable? Or, to put it another way, why do some of us eat weird things? From necessity, is a first answer. If there is nothing else around but maggoty grain, then that's what we'll make

our bread with. Beyond that, there is the belief that particular foods convey health and strength (think of spinach) or act as aphrodisiacs. This last may be one of the strongest forces of all. How else to explain why some Japanese men dote on *fugu* when the smallest scrap of that fish's ovaries or liver, overlooked by a careless chef, can kill in minutes? Don't ignore social pressures either: we may choose to eat something we don't really like because it's fashionable or because to refuse would appear impolite.

There are just as many reasons why we *won't* eat certain things. Religious or philosophical prohibitions can be potent. Old wives' tales intrude. Problems with texture,



In this Lisbon butcher's stall, the meat sold for one person's stew is another person's sin.

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## ILLUMINATIONS

smell, and colour cripple potential appreciation. Varying perceptions, especially where animals are concerned, can mean one man's pet is another man's banquet.

Speaking of which, should we swallow hard and get dogs and cats out of the way right now? Today, many people brought up in the Western tradition count these two animals inviolate when it comes to choosing dinner. It wasn't always so. Romans, Celts, and Aztecs all prized dog meat. But British and American explorers were horrified to discover Hawaiians roasting the beasts. For their part, the Hawaiians were bemused to find that these strangers ate pigs yet refused dogs. They raised both animals, treated both as pets, and ate both too. That canines alone seemed taboo to the foreigners made little sense. In China, dogs and cats have long been used for food, and although this practice now seems to be in disfavour, or even against the law in many areas, it's doubtful that it has entirely died out. I vividly remember, eight or nine years ago, interviewing a chef who relished trips home to Hong Kong so he could savour chow dog. My editor blanched when she read the piece. I was paid but the story never appeared.

Rationally, there should be nothing against eating a nice plump Garfield or Snoopy. But one of the strongest reasons we don't is contained in those very names. The animals have become part of the family. We have invested them with traits that are really our own. Only desperate necessity could force us to consider them in terms of the barbecue or stew pot. Faced with a siege, as Parisians were in 1870, then we too might eat dogs, cats, rats, even the beloved inhabitants of the city's zoo. The prospect of death by starvation is one of the few things that sometimes can cut through cultural conditioning.

Sometimes. In India, devout Hindus have been willing to accept death rather than eat the meat of sacred cows. Outsiders who regard this as foolish might remember the

special honour cattle were accorded all over the ancient world. Revered as symbols of strength and fertility, these animals were much too valuable to be raised purely for meat. What probably began as simple good sense gradually assumed the weight of religious imperative. In England and America, many people exhibit a similar reluctance where horses are concerned. Horse flesh was much appreciated in pre-Christian times for food but even more for its religious significance, and so its use was discouraged by the church as evidence of paganism. Could it be a tag end of this forbidden ancestral horse worship, long erased from consciousness, that causes some of us to back off from horse meat today?

It's easy to brush aside food taboos as so much superstition, quite out of place in a modern world grappling with hunger on a nearly unimaginable scale. It becomes a little less easy if one really tries to *feel* just how difficult this is for people deeply imbued with other values. It's not a parallel situation, to be sure: stuffed sow's udders and raw caribou rectum aren't formal religious symbols as far as I know, but many people would have trouble downing them. Just imagining it could help us realize how powerful food traditions can be, whether they're rooted in the idea of the Holy or the Unclean.

It's speculation, of course, but I wonder how many food prejudices in our own society are bolstered by the current fad for fast foods in restaurants and convenience foods at home? It's not too likely you'll find tripe McMuffin at your local burger outlet or spleen ragout among the fancy frozen entrees at the supermarket. The unfamiliar is easy to dismiss or denigrate, in food as in other human endeavours. Perhaps it's time for all of us, in every society, to examine our biases a little more closely and see which ones we can do without. Otherwise, in time, we may all risk suffering from want in the midst of plenty.

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## Counting crocodiles

The western half of the island of New Guinea and several smaller islands nearby make up the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya. Very few outsiders have a chance to visit Irian Jaya; fewer still travel outside the main towns of the north and west coasts of Irian Jaya to see a vast wilderness ranging from equatorial glaciers in the high mountains to the steamy coastal swamps and mangroves. It was in the latter that we spent a month for the World Wildlife Fund Indonesia carrying out a population survey of crocodiles for the Indonesian government.

The island of New Guinea contains what is perhaps the largest area of breeding habitat left for the wide-ranging saltwater crocodile

and the only habitat for the endemic New Guinea freshwater crocodile. When we carried out the survey in 1984, the hunting of crocodiles for their skins had been officially banned in Irian Jaya for seven or eight years. Crocodiles can be prolific breeders, but the time needed to reach sexual maturity ranges from eight to fifteen years. From our survey we wanted to determine the approximate numbers and percentages of crocodiles at certain stages of maturity to assess the breeding potential of the population.

As our resources were limited and the territory was so vast, we chose to start in what was reputed to be the richest area for crocodiles, the island of Kimaam, a flat swampy patch of land that is some 120 kilometres across and ringed with

mangroves. It is located off the remote south coast of Irian Jaya. A coastal cargo ship brought us and an assistant from the government's Directorate General of Forest Protection and Nature Conservation to the island, and a small boat carried us upriver to the village of Kimaam. There we arranged to rent a small sea-going boat and a smaller dinghy, and to hire guides. Once equipped, we set off for the western side of the island.

Although our guides had never ventured so far away from their village, they assured us that they knew the way to the rivers we wished to see. We journeyed mainly at night in order to take advantage of the quiet sea. But with clouds obscuring the stars and the shallow sea forcing us far from the flat coastline, we could not imagine



A saltwater crocodile in the waters of New Guinea.



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how our guides would be able to find the mouth of the river where our work would begin. As it turned out, they used a remarkably clever and effective method. At night the wake of the boat glowed greenish white from the light-producing marine mirco-organisms disturbed by the propellers. Whenever we crossed a patch of sea that did not glow, it meant we were passing through the freshwater outflow of a distant river where the marine organisms could not live. In this way we were able to find our destination by knowing the number of rivers we had to pass by before arriving at the one we wanted. Indeed, a final right-angle turn at a patch of fresh water brought us to the starting point of our surveys.

We had no choice but to search out crocodiles night and day, and to catch sleep when we could. By day we travelled the rivers to count basking crocodiles. Since only the larger animals bask, an accurate count of the population was not

possible but at least the size of each beast could be estimated. At night, when crocodiles of all sizes took to the water to feed on fish, a more representative count could be taken even if estimating sizes was nearly impossible.

The procedure for finding crocodiles at night was straightforward. Taking the smaller boat, we slowly travelled down one side of the river and then the other, using spotlights to catch the ruby red shine of the crocodiles' eyes. The animals were usually found in shallow water near some overhanging vegetation, with only their eyes and nostrils emerging above the surface. Once a crocodile was spotted, we would paddle as close as we could to try to estimate its size.

We encountered quite a variety of wildlife in our spotlight beams. Mudskippers, a type of air-breathing fish, had eyes that shone bright yellow. The occasional frogmouth, a large night bird, would confuse us momentarily if it was perched on

branches just above the water, its eyes reflecting a deep reddish orange. Our light beams picked out the fluttering flight of fishing bats and constantly disturbed roosting tree ducks. And several times during the night, when a glowing ruby would appear, out would come our paddles and notebooks.

There on Kimaam and in the other areas surveyed, we witnessed several hundred crocodiles but noted few more than three metres in length. We could not tell whether this indicated that the larger animals were inland in search of breeding sites or that there simply were none. However, our finding mostly mid-sized crocodiles barely reaching sexual maturity and an almost complete lack of yearlings suggested a slow rebuilding of the population after a severe depletion by uncontrolled harvesting. Given time to breed, crocodile populations in Irian Jaya will rebound.

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## Toronto: North America's new centre for the study of ceramics

It's rather nice when neighbours get to know each other. But it's even better when they find that they have enough in common to form a strong and lasting friendship. This is exactly the kind of relationship that has grown between the Royal Ontario Museum and The George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, which have stood across from each other on Queen's Park since the Gardiner opened its doors to the public in 1984. On 1 December 1987, the two institutions merged their operations.

The Gardiner, the first museum in North America devoted solely to ceramic art, has a collection of more than 1800 pieces originating from the European continent and dating from the 15th to the 19th centuries. They complement the more than 5000 pieces dating from the medieval period to the mid-20th century that are found in the collection of the European Department of the ROM. A large proportion of the ROM ceramics are English and were created in the 18th and 19th centuries. Together the ceramic collections of the Gardiner and the European Department form a comprehensive survey of English and European ceramic arts spanning over six centuries that equals the high calibre of the ROM's well-known holdings of Oriental, Greek, and Roman ceramics.

Institutional collecting is very different from that of the private collector. It has been the objective of the ROM's European Department to acquire ceramics primarily to illustrate the technical and historical development of this art form in Europe. The Gardiner Museum's collection, which is the result of a donation of a major part of the private collection of Toronto financier George R. Gardiner and his wife



*Top:* A garniture of three vases made of hard-paste porcelain. French; Sèvres; c. 1780. Two outer vases: 36 cm high, centre vase: 44 cm high.

*Bottom:* Posset pot (left) made of tin-glazed earthenware. English; London; dated 1682; 16.9 cm high. Wrotham jug (right) made of lead-glazed earthenware by Henry Ifield. English; 1644; 13 cm high.

Helen to the Province of Ontario, reflects their personal tastes and areas of interest. With the merger, The George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art will retain its name and continue to exhibit the Gardiner collection. However, pieces from the ROM's collection will be added to the displays in order to illustrate the

history and variety of the art form as well as its visual splendours.

One of the major benefits of merging the two institutions is that the people of Ontario will now have greater access to the Gardiners' very generous gift. The Gardiners, who began to collect ceramics in 1977, were determined to acquire rare and

PHOTOS COURTESY GEORGE R. GARDINER MUSEUM OF CERAMIC ART



beautiful objects in their areas of interest, and to do it in a thoughtful and knowledgeable way. This was accomplished through formal study and the establishment of connections with the world's leading art houses and dealers. The collection concentrates on three types of ceramics: Italian Maiolica of the 15th and 16th centuries, English Delftware of the 17th century, and continental porcelain of the 18th century.

Italian Maiolica wares were some of the finest ceramics of the Italian Renaissance. An extraordinary example is a large *Faenza istoriato* dish (dish decorated with historical, biblical, or mythological scenes), painted by the master of the Bergantini bowl, with scenes from the Rape of Europa. The berretino rim is painted with cherub heads and dated 1537 seven times.

Included with the English Delftware—earthenwares that are lead or tin glazed—is a rare *Wrotham* jug made by Henry Ifield and dated 1644, the earliest known signed piece by this potter. The Chinese influence can be seen on a pierced dish and on an exquisite rare *posset pot*, a drinking vessel used for posset, a drink made of milk curdled with liquor, sugar, and spices that was prepared for special occasions or as a remedy for minor ailments.

A popular motif in the porcelain collection is Italian comedy; the first piece that the Gardiners acquired was a Harlequin figure. Many of the porcelain designs include yellow, a colour that was extremely difficult to reproduce as it has a narrow tolerance to kiln firing. There are examples of hard-paste and soft-paste porcelain from most of the top artists and factories of Europe. Three rare *Vases chinois* that form a superb garniture (mantel decoration) date, by the Sevres marks, to c. 1780. The only other known garniture of this style is in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace.

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# LAND OF THE LAKE

*Explosive evolution is how scientists describe the extraordinary number of fish species found in Lake Malawi*

Edwin J. Crossman

**A**LTHOUGH many locations in the world are described as the Land of Lakes or the Lake District, only Malawi in central East Africa is called the Land of the Lake. An appropriate name, for the country is dominated by Lake Malawi, a vast and startlingly clear body of water that is 570 kilometres long, in places 704 metres deep, and forms the international boundary of Malawi, Mozambique, and Tanzania.

But Lake Malawi is more famous for the enormous number of species of fishes that it contains than for its impressive dimensions, and that is why a team from the ROM travelled there in July and August 1986 to collect specimens for a new gallery. The lake contains somewhere between five hundred and a thousand species of fishes in the family Cichlidae (small to moderate-sized, spiny-rayed fishes) alone, plus twenty-four carps and minnows, and eighteen species in ten other families. Virtually all of the cichlids, and twenty-eight of the remaining forty-two species in the other families, are endemic to Lake Malawi, that is, they occur nowhere else in the world and are assumed to have evolved in that lake. In contrast there are about 185 species of fishes native and introduced to Canada, representing twenty-seven families. Only two of the species evolved in our vast network of lakes and rivers.

Those who study fishes and their evolution still have much to learn about the number of species in Lake Malawi, the reasons for their diversity, and above all the complex behavioural patterns that are thought to allow such a large number of species of fishes to survive in a lake with a limited food supply. Aquarists from around the world are also familiar with the cichlids of Lake Malawi. The beautiful colours of these fishes make them very popular, as do their unusual reproductive habits. Apart from their value to ichthyologists and aquarists, the fishes are a major source of food for the local people and the major source of income for fishermen and for others involved in the distribution of the catch.

The deepest lakes of the world lie in geological phenomena known as rift-valleys—steep gashes in the earth's crust that result from its movement. Lake Malawi is the southernmost of the African rift lakes that lie in the East African or Afro-Arabian Rift, which extends from the Dead Sea south to Mozambique. The geological events that led to the creation of the lakes have been a primary factor in the development of the unique flocks of cichlids for which each lake is famous. These events are also responsible for the striking topography of the country around the lakes. The lakes lie in lowlands with a nearby steep escarpment and mountains to the west of them.

Cataracts on the Shire and Zambezi rivers, which drain Lake Malawi to the Indian Ocean, prevent the entry into Lake Malawi of species from the distinct fauna of the lower Zambezi River, with one exception, the eel *Anguilla*



Malawi fishermen pull in their net with their catch of *usipa*. The Malawi dugout, with its distinctive bottle-nosed ends, was used to tow the net to shore.

*Facing page:* Massive boulders are typical of the rocky habitat at Otter Point on Lake Malawi.

STAUFFER, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

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*nebulosa*. The natural immigration into Lake Malawi of predatory species that could destroy the present faunal balance is also prevented by the barrier of cataracts. Scientists from many countries are studying the catastrophic effects on the unique fish faunas of other African rift lakes caused by large predatory fishes introduced from other African waters.

The presence of so many species of cichlids endemic to Lake Malawi is described by scientists as an explosive evolution, which came about some time after the lake was invaded in the geological past by a small number of ancestral or "founder" species. Many hypotheses that attempt to explain the ways in which the hundreds of species evolved are now being tested. There must have been a series of events that repeatedly separated the founder species into small isolated groups. In turn, the periods of isolation must have been sufficient for the development of different physical and behavioural traits that later prevented the interbreeding of individuals from the different groups.

However, the physical differences among the cichlid species are often limited to subtle variations in the skull and mouth parts, especially the teeth on the roof of the mouth, in the throat, and on the jaws. In spite of the amount of evolution, the bodies, in contrast to the head and mouth parts, are very much alike. Greater differences exist in the feeding habits, colour, and behaviour of the fishes. Most of the adaptations appear to be associated with the selection of habitat and the mode of reproduction, and with specializations in the acquisition and mastication of food.

Cichlids are not great wanderers. Once they become adapted to a particular type of habitat they seem to stay there. The shore habitat of Lake Malawi available to cichlids consists of alternating patches of rocks and vegetation often separated by large stretches of open sandy bottom. Cichlids living in the areas of rock and vegetation are not likely to move across the open sandy stretches, where they could become victims of larger predatory cichlids and catfishes. The tendency to stay close to home also means, of course, that individuals from adjacent breeding groups rarely encounter one another, and so even if interbreeding were still possible, the opportunities for it are almost nil. Consequently, the adaptation of the fishes to a particular environment could eventually result in a new species.

The people of Malawi have named groups of cichlids according to their chosen habitats. The highly colourful, near-shore, rock-dwelling species are called *mbuna*. The often less colourful, open-water or pelagic, plankton-eating species are referred to as *utaka*, and those that forage on the bottom are the *chisawasawa*. Certain predatory cichlids are known as *ncheni* and *liyani*.

The special means of reproduction characteristic of almost all Malawi cichlids guarantees the continuation of separate species and the survival of the young. Each species has its own ritual courtship, which means that mating can only be performed among members of the same species. Following a courtship, which takes place on the territory of a male, the female lays small batches of eggs. After each batch is laid, the female lifts the eggs up into her mouth. At intervals, she touches the anal fin or genital tassel of the male, which causes sperm to be released into the water. The female is probably attracted to the anal fin by yellow spots that resemble eggs. Water and sperm are drawn into the female's mouth and in this way the eggs are fertilized. The eggs develop and hatch and the young are reared, for a short time, in the mouth of the female, even returning there for protection after they have become free-swimming.

These cichlids differ most in the kinds of food that they consume; many species have a very specialized and unusual diet. There are cichlids that eat only one type of food such as plankton, sessil algae, smaller cichlids, eggs of other cichlids, or even fins or scales of other fishes. Even when a single type of food is chosen by several species, some of those species restrict their feeding activity to specific locations not used by the others: for example, large rather than small rocks, or horizontal rather than vertical surfaces. Therefore specialization in the way in which the resource is used means that the resource will support a greater number of species.





Three species of the colourful *mbuna*, the cichlids most often sought by aquarists.



There are some extreme instances of specialized predation. Some cichlids butt the heads of mouth-brooding females in order to dislodge the young, which are then eaten. It is thought that another predator feigns death on the bottom of the lake, and snaps up the small, curious cichlids that come to investigate.

Equally as important as the fishes' eating habits is the fact that the fishes are an essential source of protein in Malawi, and almost all species from all bodies of water, regardless of size, are of great value to the people of this nation. Recorded catches for Malawi average about 70 000 tonnes annually, of which 40 000 tonnes come from Lake Malawi. Traditional village fisheries may yield 30 000 tonnes compared to 7000 tonnes from the more mechanized commercial fisheries (trawlers and purse seiners).

One of the major food fish, and the most favoured, is a group of three species called *chambo* or sometimes *tilapia* or *bream*. They are among the largest, more robust cichlids, and consequently provide the greatest amount of food per fish. *Chambo* is normally available in restaurants in the cities and larger towns where they are served broiled whole or filleted.

The *utaka* is another group of cichlids consisting of more than sixteen species that live in the upper levels of the open water of the lake. They are caught

## Impressions of life in Chembe

Life in Chembe, like many African villages today, is a careful balance of traditional small-town values and the ever-changing world of the late 1980s. Although somewhat remote from Lilongwe, the capital of Malawi, Chembe is a popular vacation spot for tourists from many regions of Africa and abroad.

Yet Malawi is a very conservative country and the national dress code is enforced for citizens as well as for visitors. Men must keep their hair under shoulder length; women may not wear skirts or dresses cut above the knee and they may wear two-piece bathing suits and shorts only on designated beaches. Yet just offshore from Chembe and other Malawi villages, dugout fishing boats cross bows with windsurfers.

The balance extends much further. For example, the fisheries station in Chembe has two boats. One is a locally hand-carved dugout, which had been painted silver grey by visiting scientists and named *Humphrey Greenwood*, after the internationally renowned ichthyologist. The other craft is a British-made Avon inflatable boat from which the ROM expedition's chief fisherman daily set his nets.



A view of Chembe with its baobab trees and thatched houses.

Fibreglass cruisers are pulled up on a beach next to Malawi-made dinghies and dugouts. Even the working world of the station continues the cultural mix of old and new. Laboratory technicians, perched on cardboard drums or telephone cable spools, work with microscopes and sorting equipment and play a few games of Bao (a centuries-old game of mathematics, luck, and strategy) while listening to the world news on the radio over lunch.

Ed Crossman and Peter Reinthal were undoubtedly more familiar than the local staff with the scientific nomenclature of the fishes and their importance to the story of evolution.

However, Mr Chambali, the chief fisherman, and Mr Whitman, the station's diver, were always able to capture for us those species that we specifically wanted whether or not they knew the scientific names for the fishes.

Mr Chambali and Mr Whitman employed methods that were completely different. Mr Chambali would go out, usually at night, to set his nets, and return in the morning to reap the harvest. He simply knew, like professional fishermen everywhere, when, where, and how to catch the fishes he wanted. Mr Whitman, on the other hand, used scuba equipment, his knowledge of the lake, and Mr



by fishermen working from small boats, by the crews of large trawlers operated by the Department of Fisheries, and by commercial fishermen. *Utaka* form the largest part of the catch, and the unsorted fishes are sold either fresh or sun-dried.

In some years *usipa*, *Engraulicypris sardella*, a very small member of the carp family, is the most important fish to catch. This species is not harvested by the larger trawlers because it is found only at the surface of the lake. Rather, it is captured by local fishermen working in groups with a large seine-like *chilimila* net that is approximately one hundred metres long and five metres deep.

Fishing is carried out at night by the light of pressure kerosene lamps used to attract the fish. A dugout canoe pulls the floating net out of a larger boat and sets it in a curve. One end is then towed to shore where the bulk of the net is pulled in. Eventually only a small part of the net remains in the water. That part is lifted between the boats and the fish are dumped into the larger vessel. The boats return home at dawn, and the *usipa* are spread out on elevated drying racks, grass mats or plastic sheets on the ground, and even on large rocks and the thatched roofs of houses. *Usipa* are sun-dried for four to five days before sale. Packed in large bags, the catch is transported by bus and



Mr Chambali, chief fisherman of the ROM expedition, is pulling in his nets.

Chambali's experience, to dive for very specific catches, which he captured in a hand-held net.

Chief Chembe administers the village with the assistance of five elders and the chairman of the ruling political party. One day during a visit with the chief we discussed, with the help of our interpreter Mr Mponda, the history and settlement of the village, and the first missionaries. As we were speaking, one of the elders was making a net from a ball of string by using a Y-shaped stick, his large toe, and incredibly fast fingers. This led us to change the subject of our discussion to fishing.

The chief is also responsible for teaching most of the present generation how to fish. Although he no longer goes out to fish daily, he is well aware of what is caught and of any changes. Most fishermen now use nylon nets imported from the capital instead of those made by hand. Everyone uses a combination of rocks and commercial sinkers on their nets, which are marked with floats made from scrap pieces of styrofoam. When the chief was a boy, all fishing was done from dugouts and the fishermen took what they needed for themselves and traded the rest within the village. Today, larger dinghies go out under a shareholding system; each man gets a percentage of the cash value of the catch, with the captain receiving a larger share because he either owns or rents the boat and its equipment and directs the fishing. Fish is not only the principal food source of Chembe, it has also become the primary cash crop.

One night when returning home from a visit with the chief, Mponda and I encountered a man making a dugout. The Malawi dugout is very distinctive with its bottle-nosed ends and hump along the central axis. This man was using a series of adzes to carve the canoe from a single piece of softwood. The work would take about a month of intermittent labour, and the dugout would serve him for several years. At first the man was reluctant to be



A village elder is making a net from a ball of string by using a Y-shaped stick, his large toe, and incredibly fast fingers.

photographed, explaining that he was embarrassed that viewers would think that his old work clothes were what he normally wore. Other men, a little further along the shore, were sitting in front of the local soft drink store, discussing the cost of purchasing or renting boats, the day's catch, and the high cost of living.

In many ways Chembe is like a small Canadian town: a mixture of strong tradition and change. As in Canada, it is the people of the small towns like Chembe who are truly the heart of the country.

ROBERT BARNETT



small truck to various distribution points from where other people disperse it further on foot or by bicycle.

Villagers prepare a soup or thick stew of dried *usipa* cooked whole with salt, tomatoes, and onions in a pot of boiling water. Europeans dip the fish in batter and deep-fry them.

Some fishermen, working alone, use long-lines made of braided natural fibres and hooks baited with *utaka* or *usipa* to catch mainly catfishes, most often the *kampang* (*Bagrus meridionalis*). They are eaten fresh or split and sun-dried first.

The small, beautiful *mbuna* are one group of fishes that are not important as food. They live in rocky areas where they are hard to catch in any numbers. However, the *mbuna* were heavily exploited in the past because of their worldwide popularity as aquarium fishes. Happily this situation has eased as aquarium wholesalers have learned to breed and rear the fish in captivity in Europe and in North America.

Lake Malawi National Park was created in 1980 primarily because of the worldwide interest in the cichlids. The park includes a large portion of Cape Maclear Peninsula, where a research station is located, three smaller headlands to the southeast, and twelve islands. The more colourful and biologically complex cichlids live along the rocky shores. It is these species and the aquatic communities to which they belong that are most in need of protection, and so the park includes a zone of the lake, extending one hundred metres from the shore all around the headlands and islands.

All arrangements for the ROM expedition had been made in advance with the Fisheries Department of the Malawi Ministry of Forestry and Natural Resources through Dr D. S. C. Lewis, then Senior Fisheries Research Officer, and we were able to carry out our work at the department's laboratory at Cape Maclear. Given the circumstances, the collecting carried out by the Museum was of a very selective nature with the number of specimens limited to one or two males and/or females per species. Peter Reinthal, a doctoral candidate from Duke University studying the Lake Malawi cichlids, was there to assist in the capture of the desired species and to carry out the difficult identifications. He also helped to establish the story that each specimen would illustrate in the new gallery so that each fish could be posed properly before it was moulded.

Peter and the station diver caught the fish using fine-mesh nets. Each day they would bring the live catch to the laboratory to be identified, labelled, and photographed in life for the benefit of the ROM artists who would be painting their models. Then came the task of posing and fixing the fishes in the correct positions to portray activities such as feeding, nest building, and mouthbrooding. Using a thick piece of styrofoam as a mounting board, the various bends of the body of each fish and the positions of its different fins were attained by using plasticine, pins, cotton, and stiff paper. The surface of each fish was painted with formalin and allowed to fix for a short while; then both fish and mounting board were totally immersed in formalin. Following a day of fixing, each specimen was soaked in fresh water for another day because formalin can prevent the setting of the plaster mould. The specimens were now ready for the mould makers, Robert Barnett and Peter Zylberstein of the ROM Exhibit Design Services.

It was necessary for Bob and Peter to make two-piece plaster moulds for each fish. Their first step was to remove one of each of the specially posed paired fins. Next the specimen and its remaining fins were embedded to half their depth in fine, moist sand retained by a plastic collar. A thick layer of special plaster was poured into the collar, over the fish, to form the first piece of the mould. When this first side was dry, the fish and plaster were turned over, the sand was carefully brushed off the exposed side of the fish, and the process was repeated to form the second piece of the mould. After being allowed to dry thoroughly, the two pieces of the mould were very carefully separated and the fish removed. The specimen was retained, not only to be used for reference during the model making, but also as a valuable reference



ROBERT BARNETT, ROM

One of the *mbuna* specimens is shown halfway through the moulding process. The first piece of the plaster mould, in its plastic retaining collar, is complete, ready for the plaster for the second half to be poured.





The usipa *Engraulicypris sardella* are laid out on an elevated rack to dry in the sun.

specimen in the research collection of the ROM Department of Ichthyology and Herpetology.

Except for brief stops for lunch, our days, from early morning to dark, passed in this way. The electricity supply was inadequate for work after the early African evening set in. We had a single bulb functioning at half-wattage during dinner, and the kitchen gas lamp for a brief period after dinner when we made notes and discussed the day's work. By day's end each of us was usually quite content to take his malaria pill and to retire to his mosquito-netted bed. In all our domestic needs we had the most pleasant and efficient assistance of Mr Simon Bvalani, the houseman for the station. Simon was not only an excellent cook but a resourceful handyman who kept household equipment working under difficult conditions. Our neighbour, Mr Blackwell, kindly lent us many facilities that would not otherwise have been available.

Brief periods away from our lab benches gave us occasions to go off with the divers or to snorkel near the lab in order to observe features of the vegetation, rocks, fish activity, and nests that were needed for an accurate representation of the lake in the gallery. Our short respites also provided opportunities to meet with Chief Chembe of nearby Chembe Village, who offered a gracious welcome. The park research station is on village land, and so it was most appropriate for the visitors from the Museum to introduce themselves and to explain the nature of their activities. The local fishermen and Dennis Tweddle, Fisheries Research Officer, Department of Fisheries, from the research station in the nearby town of Monkey Bay, provided much information about the use of Lake Malawi fishes and cichlid biology.

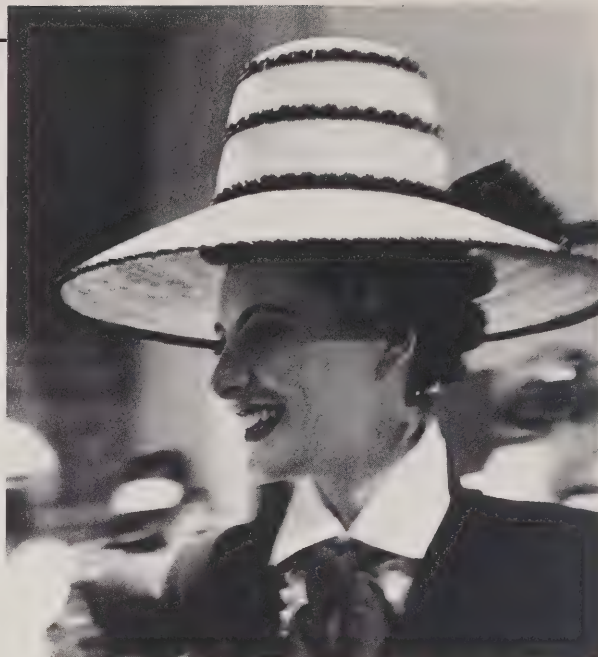
Knowledge of the developmental processes that create unique and complex faunas such as that of Lake Malawi is important to our understanding of the evolution of living forms. Hopefully such knowledge can also be used to help us to respect all living creatures and the environments that we share. 🐾

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*With the revitalization of haute couture and the rising status of prêt-à-porter, Paris remains virtually unrivalled as the capital of fashion*

Story by David Livingstone  
Photography by Alain Masson



# FASHION IS

IN treating Paris as a cradle of Western fashion, one is torn between presenting an historical analysis based on academic research and simply giving in to the impulse to drool. Let the little blue clerks keep track of the evidence; let us, my pigeons, simply declare the verdict in ga-ga tones: Paris is one of those imagined towns that lives up to all the imaginings. It is a

on the 18th century with the declaration "European costume is henceforth French," a statement so flat that even it amounts to some kind of abandon.

Today the pre-eminence of the Parisian *mode* is expressed in two words: Christian Lacroix. He is making Paris hot in a way that it has not really been since the 1950s, when it was also all so mad that Lucy and Ethel were readily lured into wearing an ice bucket and feedbag as hats. A young man who himself wears Ralph Lauren, Lacroix has been hailed as a master of whimsy. He presented his first *couture* collection last July. Instantly he became gloriously all the rage.

city completely disposed to the potential for style.

In the history books, it is put somewhat differently, though not all that much. Millia Davenport, in her 1948 scholarly work called *The Book of Costume*, begins a chapter

Set up in an *hôtel particulier* on the rue du Faubourg St Honoré, Lacroix's *maison* adheres to a prototype established in the 19th century. Indeed, the structure is so hierarchic that it could seem quaint. But it does not.

*Facing page:* Models wear outfits from Marc Audibet's spring and summer fashion show, which took place in Paris last October.







To be sure, the environment is contrived. As has been the case since the 19th century when *couturiers* assumed the status of princes of taste, it is done nearly to death, but saved from being stiflingly deliberate by humour and the unexpected. In the courtyard, is that not shiny green fruit hanging from those strangely cropped branches? In the main *salon*, the furniture, the colours, the proportions are quirky: the white sofas, which run for miles, have scalloped backs and bases licked by black flames.

Human arrangements are most clear in the *ateliers*. As per tradition, there are two workrooms, separately devoted to *tailleur*, which has to do with tailoring, and to *flou*, the softer, dressmaking matters.

Upon entering the *flou* workroom you might be lucky enough to run into Claudette Ovio. A woman possessing *chic* enhanced by a throaty voice, she used to be in show business but now works for the house of Lacroix as a *vendeuse*. In her opinion, freely and engagingly given, this workroom, headed by Jeanine Ouvrard, the *première*, is very easy-go. What is even more noticeable is how groomed and young the workers are. Fingertips—busy shaking out a skirt of duchesse satin so it makes a joyful noise or occupied with needles, those homely instruments of art—are varnished red. It is a sight that renders comprehensible the ravings of Mary Brooks Picken and Dora Loues Miller, who in their *Dressmakers of France: The Who, How and Why of the French Couture*, with a giddiness that tells of the 1956 publication date, proposed that “The sewing room of every great house, swarming with the lovely young, is the best evidence of the sustained vital charm of the race.”

Of course, not even the French can live by charm alone, and in the tailoring department, in the charge of *premier* Mario Martignon, what grabs attention is a client chart posted on the wall, listing the client's name, the number of the garment, the name of the worker, dates of first fitting, second fitting, and delivery. The list is inter-

*Top:* In Christian Lacroix's *atelier de flou*, a worker carefully irons one of the striking garments that has made Lacroix the new star of the Parisian fashion scene.

*Bottom:* The “lovely young” of Lacroix's *maison*, their varnished fingertips “occupied with needles, those homely instruments of art.”







national in scope and encompasses the likes of American socialite Nan Kempner as well as of Mrs Bryan Ferry, a young British beauty and wife of the suave rock vocalist. However, the fact that some of the names are mis-spelled suggests that in the workrooms there are, besides wealth and celebrity, other measures of pride.

For a fuller guessing at what this pride might be, one turns to fiction, to *Providence*, a novel by Anita Brookner, published in 1982, in which there is this account of the British heroine's French grandmother:

She saw that this might be the last dress she would ever make, and although her eyes were no longer good, although her fingers were getting stiff, although she could no longer kneel, she knew that she would in fact kneel, and pin, and measure, and that the honey-coloured silk . . . would finally be made into a dress not only in keeping with her own professional career, now vanished, now hardly remembered, but which would tip the scales in favour of her grand-daughter's future.

In reality, other factors figure in the success of French dressmaking. On a bulletin board in the hall outside Lacroix's workrooms there is a memo pertaining to the affairs of the conglomerate, Financière Agache, which also owns Christian Dior and Céline. Also posted and no less significant than the big bucks are the several pages of full-colour spreads from major magazines.

"*Toujours la publicité*," trills a character from Clare Booth Luce's *The Women*. But even more sober historical sources indicate that the press has played an immeasurable role in the fortunes of *la mode*. In her recently published *Dress and Morality*, Dr Aileen Ribeiro, head of the history of dress department at the Courtauld Institute, University of London, argues that fashion as we know it today, "with regular, speedy and seasonal changes," only began after the appearance of the fashion press in the late 18th century. Only after that "it soon became positively shameful to be seen to be behind the fashions."

While French journals such as *Galerie des modes et costumes français*, which ran from 1778 to 1787, were among the earliest precursors of *Vogue*, since then the American press has also had its say in determining fashion's course. John Fairchild, publisher of the American trade paper *Women's Wear Daily*, just this past October was, in recognition of his contribution, awarded the *Légion d'Honneur*. Jean-Jacques Picart, the

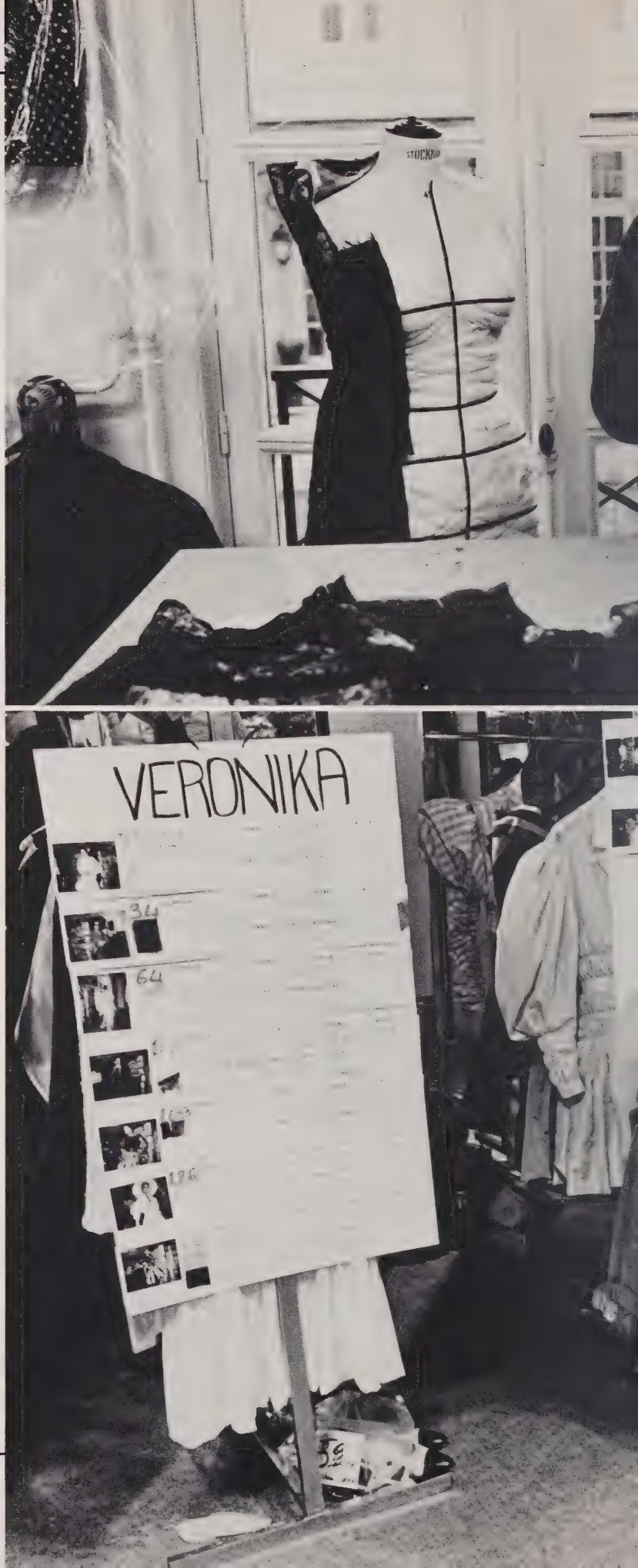


man in charge of marketing Lacroix's image and who has long been winning respect for his acute understanding of the fashion system, admits that even he had no idea of Fairchild's impact, which he assesses as almost frightening, until early in 1986. It was then that Fairchild decided to announce that Lacroix, who was working for Patou, was the revitalizing agent in the return to *haute couture*, which had been supplanted by the development of *prêt-à-porter* in the 1960s.

Through the long days of its fashion leadership, which some people would date as early as the 14th century when word of the latest from Paris travelled in the form of fashion dolls to England and Italy, France has gone against several challengers to keep its title. Because it became such an international phenomenon, the emergence of the status ready-to-wear business was among the most serious threats to *couture*.

The movement may have started in Paris, in the '50s, when young stylists such as Emmanuelle Khanh, formerly a mannequin with Balenciaga, began to capture the attention of the rebellious offspring of *jolie madame*, young women taking their inspiration from Camus, Juliette Greco, Jean-Luc Godard, Sylvie Vartan, Dick Rivers, and Johnny Halliday, the last three of whom were on the bill at the 1963 pop concert that gave birth to the label *yéyés*. As Marylene Delbourg-Delphis records in her lively account of French fashion called *Le Chic et le Look*, by 1967 Chanel had become a caricature of the cranky *couturière*, complaining that if the world were sad, the *yéyés* were to blame. Wiser, younger designers knew that it was not so. Yves Saint Laurent was already declaring in 1965, "Below the Ritz, lives the street." By the 1970s he had given such importance to his street-wise, ready-to-wear shops and collections that eventually there were more journalists and buyers attending the ready-to-wear spectacles than had ever cooled their heels in the *haute couture* salons.

In 1965 it was still legitimate for John Fairchild, in *The Fashionable Savages*, to sup-



*Top:* Mario Martignon heads Lacroix's tailoring department.

*Bottom:* Behind Veronika, a model for Chanel, are the outfits and accessories that she wore for the spring show. The chart indicates the order of her appearances on the runway and photographic and written references for her ensembles.





port Paris's reputation as "the mother of fashion" by saying "Give the name of a Paris couture house to a taxicab driver, and he takes you there." By the late 1970s, the same thing was becoming true of Milan. Today you can find Milanese cab drivers who know the addresses of the palaces housing such successful ready-to-wear operations as Krizia, Versace, and Armani.

Italian fashion might have achieved such prominence sooner, but, true to that country's history of competing city-states, Italian fashion has not been centralized. The first major effort to attract foreign attention came with shows organized in Florence in 1951. And it did. *Life* reported "Italy Gets Dressed Up" and poses a challenge to Paris. However, by the mid '60s, Italian *couturiers* were keeping to themselves in Rome, and eventually Italian ready-to-wear relocated in Milan.

Nor has New York ever matched the beauty of Paris's organization. Although *couture*, in the sense of snooty creators making a fortune out of putting their signature on things, did not begin until an Englishman, Charles Frederick Worth, established his house in 19th-century Paris, the city had already established by 1868 the *Chambre Syndicale de la Couture Parisienne*, which continues to this day as effective machinery ensuring the prestige and exclusive standards of French fashion. Worth represented the final leap from tradesman to artist/celebrity. He pioneered the practice of having his clients come to him, of having them wear *his* name sewn into *their* dresses.

With such a knack for snobbery, the British might have assumed the stature of the French in fashion. In men's wear, after all, the British outstripped the French, leaving London to this day the capital of bespoke tailoring. But various reasons are given as to why London never matched this success in the realm of female attire. An excellent and very witty one was provided by Alison Adburgham who, writing for *Punch* in 1956, observed, "Fashion is a decorative art, its only serious purpose is frivolity. When such banalities as clothing the body come into it, then fashion is in a decline. How disturbing, then, to find so many of the Paris Autumn Collections described as wearable. Why, they make wearable clothes in London, in Paris we look for fashion."

Another English journalist, Nancy



Mitford, writing for *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1951, drew a similar conclusion:

Anglo-Saxons do not quite understand French elegance and what it is. They have a vague romantic notion that any French woman can take any old bit of stuff, give it a clever twist, and look chic in it. This may be true of Italian peasants, but not of Parisians. Dressing, in Paris, is not a craft; it is an art not come by easily or cheaply; Parisians are not peasants, but citizens of the most civilized town in the world. When they cannot afford the time and money to be really well dressed, they abandon the idea of clothes and concentrate instead upon cooking and their children's education.

A very special publication is a most touching indication of how fashion in France is respected not only as a domestic craft but also as a serious art. The *Chambre Syndicale* and national associations of authors and artists in 1945 published an album of texts by Clara Malraux et al., with illustrations by Christian Bérard, Matisse, Picasso, and others, as a means of boosting morale and to raise money for a charity devoted to the welfare of the lowly of the high fashion industry, *la midinette*.

Some would say that France's success in re-establishing itself as a fashion centre after the Occupation was sealed by the rise of Christian Dior who launched a "new look" of post-war lavishness—some of his skirts went on for days—and to whose meteoric career Lacroix's has already been likened.

Besides clothes, Paris has always had the women to wear them. *Life* magazine, in September 1945, summarized the allure of such women as something they called "The French Look." It was described as "sexier and less natural than the American look . . . the result of effort and ingenuity." In a rather backhanded gallery of Gallic accomplishment, the look was illustrated with photos of carefully plucked brows; thin, heavily made up lips; false hair, and fancy rings.

A more scientific view of French supremacy is provided by Pierre Bourdieu, a very French sociologist, in his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. In the preface to the English edition, Bourdieu credits the universal fascination with the Parisian "version of the art of living" to "the particularity of the French tradition, namely, the persistence, through different

*Top:* Marc Audibet makes last minute adjustments to an outfit.

*Bottom:* At the end of a long day two models wilt in a corridor of the Paris Opera.







epochs and political regimes, of the aristocratic model of 'court society,' personified by a Parisian *haute bourgeoisie* which, combining all forms of prestige and all the titles of economic and cultural nobility, has no counterpart elsewhere, at least for the arrogance of its cultural judgements."

Sure, Lacroix is bright and funny, but another version of Paris's renewed force as a centre of *couture* might point to the fact that the ready-to-wear industry had become just as pricey and pretentious as *haute couture*. Certainly, the tents set up twice a year in the courtyard of the Louvre to accommodate the presentations of deluxe *prêt-à-porter* are big enough to hold thousands; but to attend the shows is still made to feel like a privilege. The invitations are lovely and artful when you get them, but, depending on who you are, you don't always get them. But even when saying no, a French *attaché de presse* might be admired for a cool seldom equalled in other parts of the world.

At the end of the most recent ready-to-wear shows in Paris, during the month of October, one was left with nothing not to appreciate. While Lacroix, whose *prêt-à-porter* is being manufactured by an Italian firm, was restoring the notion of *haute couture* with brilliant, not stuffy, boldness, Jean Paul Gaultier, Marc Audibet, Martine Sitbon, as well as talents from Italy, Japan, and the United States, continued to demonstrate the sensitivity of the more democratic ideal of ready-to-wear.

And though even that might be too expensive, the street is free, and the streets of Paris are matchless. The buildings are beautiful; all the people stare. Next thing you're thinking you can *flâner* with the best of them. Finally, you get the nerve to stare back, to savour the joy in seeing what loads of style reside in the human condition.

*Garçon, garçon, encore de champagne.* Here's to the mousseline model from Madame Vionnet; here's to Voltaire. ♡

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Alain Masson is a Toronto-based freelance photographer.



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# WHAT'S IN A NAME?

## Lamanai and early maps of Mayaland

*Could a small Maya village in Central America have  
an impact on European culture?*

David M. Pendergast

MUCH of the ROM's excavation program at Lamanai, Belize, focused on the discovery and exploration of the 16th- and 17th-century community, and attempted to understand the effects of Spanish contact on Maya life. The archaeological material and a sadly limited body of Spanish archival information combined to give us some idea of the impact of European culture on the Maya, but as I pondered the sketchy picture it never occurred to me that Lamanai might have had some effect on Europe. Even if the thought had entered my mind, I would have dismissed it as something that very probably could not be studied in any formal way. Luckily, a chance discovery in 1984 changed my mind.

Not all discoveries come about through hours of hard labour over data; many, whether in the field or in the laboratory, are the products of pure chance. In this case the chance grew out of interests, far removed from Maya prehistory, that led Elizabeth Graham and me to the annual Wimodausis antique show in Toronto. As we roamed from stand to stand, savouring Europe's and Canada's heritage, we stopped at a display of maps. Our customary search for depictions of the Yucatan Peninsula brought us to Nicholas Jansson's map of 1645, and there, on the shore of what is now Belize, was the name "Lamanay." A quick check with our ethnohistorian colleague Grant Jones revealed that a good many 17th-century maps include "Lamanay," located either on shore or on an imaginary island, perhaps an incorrect rendering of one of the cays that dot Belize's barrier reef. How, I wondered, did this Maya city's name find its way onto European maps in the 17th century? When did it first appear? And, most important, what if anything might the cartographic history of Lamanai tell us about the period in which the Spaniards held sway at the ancient Maya city?

The jump from one's own area of presumed expertise into another field may prove to be a plunge into deep and cold waters, in which the struggle up to fresh air is fraught with peril. I cannot pretend to be knowledgeable in the area of early cartography, and hence my search for the earliest appearance of "Lamanay" began as a haphazard expedition into unknown territory. Beginning with Jansson's map, I moved to its contemporaries and then on to

*Facing page:* J. Blaeu's West Indies, c. 1640, with "Lamanay" on the mainland.



INSVLÆ AMERICANÆ  
IN OCEANO SEPTENTRIONALI.  
cum Terris adiacentibus.

F L O R I D A .

Golfo De Mexico.

HONDVRAS.

N I C A R A G V A .

MAR DEL SUR.

PARS.  
NOVE HISPANIAE

Ampl. Prud. Doct. Viro  
D. ALBERTO CONRADI VANDER BVCH.  
I. C. Reip. Amsterdamentis Senatori. Collegii  
Scabinorum Praefidi. Societatis Indicae. quae  
ad Occidentem militat. a. 1607. et nuper  
ad Magnum Moscoviae Ducem Legato.  
Tabulam hanc inscribit Gulielmus Blaeu.



Sebastian Munster's New World, c. 1550, with the Yucatan Peninsula as an island and no mention of Lamanai.



By 1662, Blaeu had shifted Lamanai to a large (and actually nonexistent) offshore island shown in blue.



PHOTO COURTESY THE MAP ROOM, EXPLORATION HOUSE, TORONTO

PHOTO COURTESY THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO



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earlier versions, dependent always on catalogue comments and brief notations for guidance to sources that any competent student of cartographic history might have at his fingertips.

For the Yucatan Peninsula, there are fewer early maps and fewer documentary sources than one might imagine. Despite its highly interesting early colonial history, the peninsula never figured prominently in the economy of New Spain because it held no gold and boasted relatively little in the way of other resources. It was, in fact, the second poorest area in New Spain; the only territory worse off was Florida, to which food shipments were periodically sent from the Yucatan. As a result, no mapmaker focused exclusively on the peninsula; it appears as part of maps of Mexico and Central America or of the Caribbean, often wildly misshapen and at a scale too small to permit inclusion of placenames, but never on its own. Only one 17th-century map, J. Blaeu's 1662 Amsterdam work, depicts the Yucatan at large scale, and even it includes Central America as far south as Panama.

The earliest appearance of "Lamanay" that has surfaced is in the map that accompanied Antonio de Herrera's *Descripción del Destricto del Audiencia de Nueva España*, of 1622. Because de Herrera's work was a compendium of knowledge derived from many sources, it is almost certain that his map was likewise a composite of various cartographers' efforts. At least one of those efforts corrected the earliest representations of the peninsula as an island, for de Herrera differs from some of his contemporaries by showing the Yucatan, in a rather angular version of its actual form, as part of the mainland. "Lamanay" appears on the mainland as well, but its placement among a series of dots and blobs along the Belizean coast could well have led cartographic copyists to think that it lay on one of the islands along the barrier reef.

By 1645 the site had made its way out onto such an island, where it remained in many subsequent mapmakers' versions of the peninsula. Among the later presentations of Lamanai's insular siting is Henry Popple's great multisheet map of 1733, which follows Blaeu's lead and generously bestows the site's name on an entire large (and nonexistent) island. Grant Jones has suggested that the island placement might have resulted from a misreading of the notation "Lag. Manan" (Manan Lagoon) on an early map; even if this is so, the confusion of the island with Lamanai surely tells us that the site's name was known to Europe's 16th-century cartographers, and it is here that all of this wandering about among early maps becomes more than just a matter of antiquarian curiosity.

How did the name of Lamanai, a community in a remote part of a distant land, become known to 17th-century Spanish and Lowlands mapmakers? The answer must be that it appeared on some early map of the Yucatan, which later cartographers copied with the cavalier attitude towards facts that so often characterized their work. The existence of numerous 17th-century maps that bear the name "Lamanay" shows only that such copying took place, and says nothing about the community's importance.

However, the site's name must have been on the original source map because some 16th-century mapmaker, almost certainly a Spaniard working in the Yucatan, saw Lamanai as important enough to be included. As most early maps of the peninsula contain very few placenames, Lamanai's presence reflects the community's considerable significance in the first years of Spanish rule, and perhaps in long-range planning for the development of the Yucatan.

If Lamanai was important enough in the eyes of the Spaniards who arrived at the community about 1544 that its name gained some currency elsewhere in the peninsula, it was probably due, in part, to the community's strategic location at the headwaters of the principal river highway into the southern interior. It is also very likely that part of the importance was a reflection of the city's past glories, for Lamanai had played a significant role in the politics and economy of the peninsula from perhaps as early as 1500 B.C. through at least the 13th century, and probably up to the time of the Spaniards' arrival. The presence of a large church, the second built at the site in the century of Spanish hegemony, undoubtedly indicates the Europeans' expectations for





As late as 1733, Henry Popple perpetuated Blaeu's identification of "Lamanay" as an island.

the community's future. By 1641, however, those hopes had been dashed by a Maya rebellion that forever erased Lamanai from the list of potential power centres in New Spain.

Having postulated the reasons for Lamanai's presence on a hypothetical 16th-century Spanish map, I should have been able to find the map—and perhaps even the mapmaker's notes regarding his choice of placenames. This sort of magical feat is every archive-searcher's dream, but for the Maya area the dream all too rarely becomes reality. The map that accompanied Diego Lopez de Velasco's 1571–1574 compendium of geographic and economic information at first seemed a likely candidate, but it shows the Yucatan as an island with few placenames, and Lamanai is not among them. If the mysterious map still exists, it lies as hidden as do a great many of the records of the early historic years in the Yucatan.

We know that the illegal nature of much of the 16th- and 17th-century business done in the frontier area that is now Belize meant that few records were kept, and even fewer found their way into the hands of the authorities; maps, on the other hand, often had less of the politically explosive about them, and would probably only have been kept secret if they contained information of vast economic importance. In the early years of the historic period, maps of the Yucatan may have been thought to hold just such information, and perhaps by the time the generally impoverished nature of the peninsula was recognized, hidden maps were lost or had strayed beyond easy recovery.

Somewhere in an uncatalogued archive or at the bottom of a trunk in a storeroom in Seville or in Merida or Mexico City or the Vatican or some even less imaginable place may lie a map from the hand of a Spaniard whose labours of more than four hundred years ago will someday emerge to tell us when Lamanai entered the European consciousness, even though neither the map nor any other document may ever really tell us why. ♡

*Dr David Pendergast is curator in charge, Department of New World Archaeology, ROM.*

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*Long before the first direct contacts with Europeans,  
the Hurons of south-central Ontario were*

# A SOCIETY TRANSFORMED



Peter Ramsden

**T**HE daring exploits of small bands of adventurers bent on exploring and expanding the limits of the known world made the late 15th and 16th centuries one of the more colourful periods of western European history. In the course of discovering and later colonizing new worlds they encountered hundreds of alien societies, which were products of social, intellectual, and artistic traditions quite unlike their own. So unexpected were some of these cultures that many of the explorers were moved to record their observations and impressions. These writings have become part of our intellectual heritage and we generally presume that, provided one is aware of the pitfalls in taking this type of literature at face value, they provide us with some insight into the nature of those societies as they were before the sweeping changes brought about by European contact.

One of the best-documented aboriginal societies in Canada is that of the Hurons of south-central Ontario who, being in the interior of the continent, were not visited by a European until 1609. Their first visitor was Etienne Brulé, whose visit was documented by Samuel de Champlain. The extensive and often detailed observations of Champlain, Sagard, and Brébeuf provide

*An illustration by Eric Gill based on *The Travels and Sufferings of Father Jean de Brébeuf Among the Hurons of Canada as Described by Himself*, The Golden Cockerel Press, 1937.*



us with a wealth of information about many aspects of Huron life in the early 17th century. Information about the Hurons in their Simcoe County homeland recorded by Champlain in 1615 and by Sagard in 1624 is taken to be descriptive of a society as yet little changed by the impact of European society or disease, and relatively unaffected by the forces of European politics. However, archaeological investigations in several parts of southern Ontario, particularly over the last decade or so, have revealed that Champlain and Sagard did not encounter a nearly pristine culture. Instead, it appears that Huron society had been undergoing a marked reorganization as a result of indirect European influence for at least fifty years before a European saw a Huron community.

Excavations undertaken by McMaster University at a number of Huron village sites in the Balsam Lake area of the Trent Valley have produced evidence of the extent and duration of the social and political upheaval that took place among one small group of Hurons in the mid to late 16th century. These changes were apparently due to the far-reaching ramifications of the presence of Europeans elsewhere in eastern Canada.

Huron occupation of the Balsam Lake area probably spanned some four hundred years. The earliest known site dates from the Pickering Phase, about A.D. 1200. Although it is not known how extensive the occupation of the Balsam Lake area was at that time, there was certainly continuous Huron occupation for about two hundred years, beginning sometime after 1400.

During the 15th century the Huron of this area appeared to have lived in several small and widely scattered villages, each about one-half hectare in size and probably housing one hundred to two hundred people. There is no evidence that these villages were palisaded, nor does it appear that their locations on or near exposed shorelines of lakes and rivers were chosen with any regard to defense. Each of these villages contained a few bark-covered long-houses, probably inhabited by a group of related families. Subsistence was based on a combination of horticulture, fishing, hunting, and the gathering of wild plants. These sites probably represent the remains of one or two communities that continued to exploit the Balsam Lake area over a century or so, periodically relocating their villages as soil and firewood became exhausted. The material culture of these early groups is homogeneous and fairly typical of other Huron sites in southern Ontario. However, a distinctive characteristic that sets it apart from the material culture of other contemporaneous Huron sites is the unusual predominance of certain design motifs on ceramic pots of local manufacture. It is in fact ceramic remnants as well as other artifacts that have allowed archaeologists to formulate a fairly detailed picture of 15th- and 16th-century Huron history.

In the early 16th century, the first sign of a major upheaval in the Huron history of Balsam Lake is signalled by the appearance of some very distinctive ceramics that were in the style of the St Lawrence Valley Iroquois and clearly not of local manufacture. It was the Iroquois of the St Lawrence Valley that Jacques Cartier met in 1535 at Hochelaga during his exploration of trade routes into the interior. Cartier was actively discouraged by the Hochelagans from trying to press on westwards into the Great Lakes. Fragments of their pots, found in the refuse dumps of the Trent Valley sites, have been dated to this period, and so it can be assumed that the Iroquois were trying to protect their own trading interests. On one such site, the Jamieson, a palisade was built, which was later reinforced with an earthwork and outer ditch. Obviously the Huron of the Trent Valley were being threatened, and it may have been by other Indians who saw Balsam Lake as an advantageous location for trade.

Somewhat later, the Kirche Site, dating about 1550, shows evidence of even more intensive interaction between the Trent Valley Huron and the St Lawrence Valley Iroquois. A palisade comprising three rows of posts surrounded the village. The stockade shows evidence of having been extended outwards in one area to make room for a newly built house and an extension built onto another. This suggests that the population was expanding to accommodate new arrivals from other regions such as the north shore of Lake Ontario. Situated completely outside the stockaded village is a cluster of seven long-



PETER RAMSDEN

*Top to bottom:* Fragment of a human effigy clay pipe bowl from the Kirche Site; human effigy bone head from the Benson Site; a miniature pot (approximately 9 cm high) typical of Benson style ceramics; fragments of St Lawrence Iroquois style pottery found at the Benson Site.



houses apparently representing a group of people who did not become part of the community. The refuse pits in these houses contain a predominance of St Lawrence Valley Iroquois pottery fragments. It is most likely that the two groups of newcomers moved to the Kirche Site in order to trade skins, furs, and other items wanted by the Europeans. Two fragments of European copper, doubtless parts of items obtained along the St Lawrence, were found inside the village. They were presumably received by residents of the Kirche Site in trade.

Dating slightly later than the Kirche Site, and situated some kilometres to the north of it, is the Coulter Site. This community began as a small palisaded village of a few hectares and grew over the course of a decade or two into a cosmopolitan community of about five hectares. The history of this village involves several episodes of palisade extension, each one making room for several new houses. In addition, one or two quite separate enclosed compounds were added on to the outside of the main stockade to enclose groups of outsiders' houses.

Differences in the styles of ceramics found on various areas of the site indicate that groups of Huron people moved into this village from two or three other regions of southern Ontario. Once again, significant amounts of St Lawrence Valley Iroquoian ceramics were found in some sections of the site. Thirty metal artifacts were recovered during excavations that uncovered less than ten per cent of the site. Most of the artifacts were manufactured in Europe, including one tubular bead hammered from a piece of silver alloy. Trading activities with the St Lawrence Valley, probably involving the St Lawrence Iroquois as intermediaries, most likely brought both European metal and St Lawrence pottery to the Coulter Site. Hurons from distant parts of southern Ontario were attracted to the site by the increased trading activities and potential prosperity. That they may also have been enticed by the conviction that there is safety in numbers is suggested by the evidence of violence and warfare found at the site, perhaps indicating that there was fierce competition for access to trade routes. A further possibility is that introduced European diseases may already have begun to take a toll of certain populations, leaving survivors to seek support and shelter from distant kin or allies.

The last phase of Huron history in the Balsam Lake area is represented by the Benson Site, dating to the closing years of the 16th century. While much smaller than the nearby Coulter Site, and showing no signs of expansion during its occupation, it does show, nonetheless, evidence of distinct ethnic areas: two separate groups of houses that produced somewhat different styles of ceramics and clay pipes. Each group contains one house markedly longer than the others, which means that that they may have had separate chiefs or headmen.

More St Lawrence style pottery has been found in the northern part of the village than in the southern part, and much of this pottery looks like a blend of styles from the St Lawrence and Trent valleys. The women who made it were not visitors trading pottery. Rather they had come to live in the village and were copying stylistic elements of the local ceramics. These women may have been survivors of the St Lawrence Valley Iroquois, who seemingly disappeared as a cultural group towards the end of the 16th century.

Reasons for their demise may include disease, warfare with competitors in the St Lawrence Valley, and warfare with the Trent Valley Hurons, who may have wished to trade directly with the Europeans. In all likelihood all of these factors played a part. Certainly a change in the relationship of the Huron from the Trent Valley and the Iroquois from the St Lawrence Valley can be seen by comparing the Kirche and Benson sites. The Kirche Site contains a variety of St Lawrence Iroquois objects whereas the Benson Site contains only ceramics. The former situation suggests a trading relationship while the latter is more likely to suggest the presence of women captured in raids.

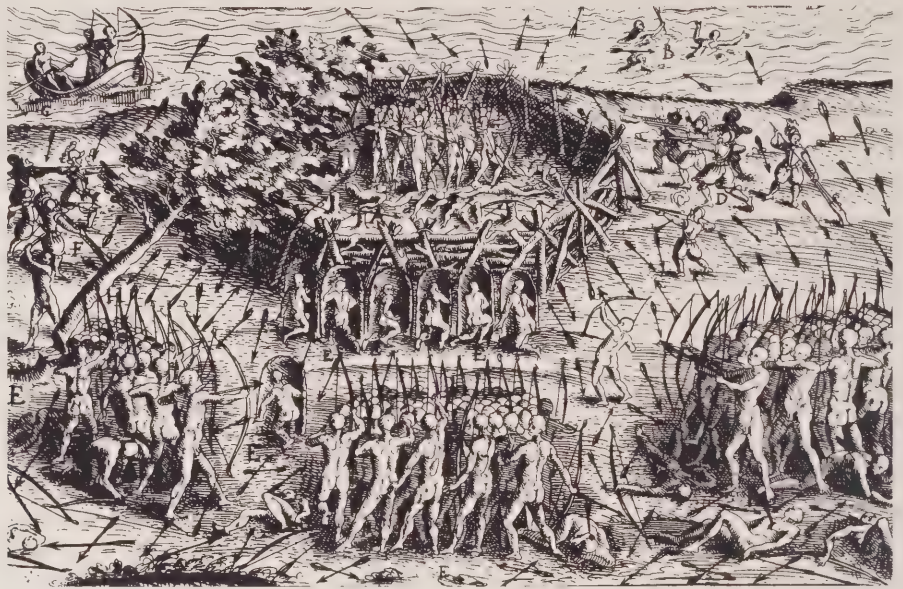
If this is correct, then the Trent Valley Huron may indeed have become resentful of the St Lawrence Iroquois' direct trade with Europeans. Some time after the occupation of the Coulter Site and before the establishment of the



Artist C. W. Jeffery's conception of Jacques Cartier at Hochelaga.



Samuel de Champlain's drawing of Iroquois under attack from his journal of 1610.



Benson Site a war against the St Lawrence Iroquois may have taken place. On the other hand, it is also possible that both disease and economically motivated warfare were becoming increasingly common in the St Lawrence area, and the Coulter and Benson sites may reflect the flight of refugee groups of St Lawrence Iroquois to the protection of Trent Valley allies.

About the end of the 16th century the Trent Valley Hurons abandoned the Balsam Lake area, and it is likely that they moved to the west side of Lake Simcoe to become part or all of the group known historically as the Rock Nation of the Huron confederacy. They were met there shortly afterwards by Champlain, who cemented a military alliance with them by assisting in a raid upon a group of New York Iroquois south of Lake Ontario. In the light of what archaeology tells us of their history, the raid may have been instigated by a refugee St Lawrence Iroquois faction, and may have been motivated by a blood feud begun a generation earlier during the St Lawrence Iroquois' unsuccessful struggle for survival.

The history of the Trent Valley Huron as revealed by archaeology clearly shows that the Huron culture was being profoundly affected by events precipitated by European activities as early as the mid-16th century. When Champlain first described a Rock Nation Huron community in 1615, he was describing a society that had undergone more than a half century of population disruption, hostility, economic reorientation, and political realignment in response to the unique and unpredictable circumstance of the European arrival in the St Lawrence Valley.

It was, moreover, a society that had but recently forged itself from a number of disparate elements, some of them remnants of other dispersed groups. Under these circumstances, a group's political and social structure is more likely to be pragmatic than traditional, and its claims to solidarity and territorial integrity are more symbolic than accurate. No doubt many elements of traditional life survived the disruptions of the various Huron groups across southern Ontario during the late 16th century and were incorporated into the culture of the newly forged Huron confederacy that crowded into Simcoe County.

However, it is equally certain that the Europeans who documented that culture in the 17th century were not able to distinguish traditional elements from those that were new. Nor did they have any reason to question their informants about which of the many pre-contact Huron factions they represented. The historic records are a useful source of information about 17th-century Huron society in Simcoe County, but archaeology reveals that they describe a transformed society. That society is probably no better a model of purely aboriginal Huron society than Toronto in the 1980s is of Victorian England. ♣

*Dr Peter Ramsden is associate professor, Department of Anthropology, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.*



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# JAPAN IN THE PALM OF YOUR HAND

Hugh Wylie

**N**ETSUKE (pronounced nets-kay) are small carvings, mostly of wood or ivory, which were used, in Japan, to suspend a small personal possession such as an *inrō* (a small container with tiered compartments for powdered medicines) or a tobacco pouch from the wearer's obi (waist sash). Although netsuke were commonly worn by Japanese men, they were rarely used by women. As well as fulfilling a practical function, netsuke and their attached containers were almost the only personal adornment worn by the men. The suspended object would hang freely beneath the netsuke, over the wearer's right hip. The Japanese started using netsuke about 350 years ago, but their use declined during the Meiji period (1868–1912) as Western-style clothing became more popular.

Most of the stories and legends that inspired the subjects of the netsuke illustrated on the following pages originate in the wealth of the oral and written traditions surrounding all East Asian history, religion, and folklore. As is often the case with popular stories and legends, there are versions other than those related here.

## *Ono no Komachi*

Ono no Komachi, a 9th-century Japanese poet, is depicted on the following page as a pitiful, deranged old woman. However, in her youth she had been a beautiful and witty lady-in-waiting at the imperial court, and her poems reflect the refined, somewhat effete aesthetic of the Heian period (794–1185) court nobles. Komachi was also the only woman among a group designated in the early 10th century as the "Six Immortal Poets." Her poetry often deals with the theme of unhappy love: separation from a lover, unrequited love, and the infidelity of men. Many legends about Komachi developed over the centuries based on what little biographic information survived and on her poems. Such legends served as inspiration for a cycle of seven *nō* dramas and, in later times, for kabuki dance pieces.

The seven dramatic and probably mostly apocryphal episodes from different periods in Komachi's life include one story of her mistreatment of a suitor. Fukakusa no



This man is wearing a netsuke with an *inrō* and pouch suspended from it. His hairstyle and rather effeminate garment identify him as one of the *wakashu*, or "beautiful youths," some of whom were kabuki actors. Detail from a folding screen, 1630s, on loan to the ROM from the H. and M. Gustin Collection, Ontario Heritage Foundation.

PHOTO COURTESY FAR EASTERN DEPT, ROM



Shōshō (the Major-General of Fukakusa), the man in question, decided to court Komachi although he lived a great distance from her. Komachi refused to receive him unless he travelled one hundred nights from his house to hers and waited outside until dawn. He arrived and waited before her house for ninety-nine nights in all kinds of weather, but on the hundredth night there was an especially severe snowstorm and Fukakusa was found dead the next morning, buried to the neck in snow.

In Komachi's old age she was possessed and driven to madness by the vengeful spirit of Fukakusa no Shōshō. She wandered the land, demented and destitute, as suggested by her expression and clothing in this netsuke. Using the staff in her left hand for support, she holds a decrepit fan in her right hand.

Komachi is more often remembered as the attractive woman she was in her youth, with no want of suitors anxious to exchange poems with her. Even in Japan today her name is synonymous with beauty. Some Japanese might say, for example, that a beautiful woman from Toronto is a "Toronto Komachi."



Wood, with inlaid eyes and teeth; 18th century; height: 7.6 cm

## *A long-nosed Mitsume kozō mounting his steed Tōri Akuma*

During the Edo period (1603—1867) when most netsuke were carved, folk tales of the supernatural proliferated and the different types of goblins, monsters, and apparitions described in literature and depicted in art increased to more than five hundred. Groups of friends would meet at night to tell each other scary stories, especially during the height of summer when they could ease the discomfort of the extremely hot weather by having chills sent up and down their spines.

The two goblins Mitsume kozō and Tōri Akuma have appeared together several times as a netsuke subject, so it is likely that they were also linked in the oral storytelling tradition. Mitsume kozō always has a third eye in the centre of his forehead (*mitsume* means three-eyed); here the carver has also given him three toes on each foot, three fingers on each hand, and an extremely elongated nose. Tōri Akuma is a winged demon with a huge head. It was believed that sometimes he was seen flying through the night brandishing an unsheathed sword, his eyes flaming. For reasons unknown, the underside of the Tōri Akuma illustrated here shows the body to be a *mokugyo*, a wooden Buddhist gong.



Wood, with inlays; 19th century; signature: *Chikusai*; height: 4 cm



## *Taoist immortal with a dragon*

Taoism developed as a Chinese philosophy emphasizing non-interference with Nature and the nature of things, based on the writings of Laozi who lived during the 6th century B.C. Followers of this philosophy also respected the practices and teachings of Chinese priest-magicians who by the 2nd century A.D. had created a cult of superhuman sages thought to possess magical powers and the secret of eternal life.

This netsuke is somewhat magical in itself, being able to balance its somewhat complex composition on a single foot. The figure can be identified as an immortal by his cloak of leaves. Since a number of the immortals are associated with dragons, precise identification of this one is difficult. One possibility is that he is Xiaoshi (Japanese: Shōshi), who is recorded as being a famed player of the *xiao* (free-reed mouth organ) during the Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.) in China. His music was so beautiful that it summoned the mythical phoenix-like bird to descend to earth. A prince gave Xiaoshi the hand of his daughter, Longyu, in marriage. After Xiaoshi taught her to play the *xiao* they often played music together, and sometimes the bird lifted its voice in song to join them, thereby creating a trio. Eventually the gifted couple rode off into the sky destined for the land of the immortals, Longyu on the back of the phoenix and Xiaoshi on the back of a dragon.



Ivory, intentionally stained, with inlaid eyes; 18th century; height: 12.5 cm

## *Taoist immortal Li Tieguai*

Li Tieguai, known as Tekkai sennin (Iron Staff Immortal) in Japanese, was named after the staff that he always carries. In this particular netsuke, however, the staff that Li Tieguai uses for support is depicted as a wooden one. In Chinese and Japanese paintings he is often paired with the immortal Hama, known as Gama sennin (Toad Immortal) in Japanese. His magical powers included the ability to separate his soul from his body, which enabled him to leave his body behind when he wished to travel long distances. Modern occultists would probably call this ability astral projection.

On one occasion when Tieguai was about to leave his body, he told the disciple charged with its protection to have it cremated if his soul, or astral body, did not return in seven days. Unfortunately the disciple was called away to his mother's deathbed; Tieguai's body was uncared for and became uninhabitable. When Tieguai's wandering spirit returned, it had no choice but to take up residence in the grotesque body of a lame beggar who had died recently of hunger. Although he was at first displeased with his new body, Tieguai bore no grudge against the negligent disciple; according to one version of the story, Tieguai interrupted the funeral preparations to bring his disciple's mother back to life.



Wood, with inlaid eyes; 18th century; height: 12.3 cm



## The magic teakettle

This netsuke is shaped like an iron kettle used for boiling water for Japanese whisked tea. It has a movable lid, which when raised reveals a *tanuki*, an animal resembling a racoon. Many legends and folktales feature the *tanuki*, and one that is especially well known is about a *tanuki* that transforms into a teakettle. In fact, netsuke depicting this story ordinarily show the *tanuki* as it is transforming.

There are numerous variations of the story, the details changing from region to region throughout Japan. Most versions share the common theme of the animal repaying a debt of human kindness. For example, one story tells of a *tanuki* that transformed itself into a teakettle so that the impoverished man who had saved the animal from death could sell the kettle to a Buddhist monastery. Whenever the kettle was polished too vigorously or put over a fire to boil, it would revert to its *tanuki* form and run back to the man, who would then resell it as a kettle. As a result of several sales, the man's financial situation improved.

The Zen Buddhist monastery of Morinji at Tatebayashi City in Gumma Prefecture displays such a kettle even today. It is said that the kettle never needed replenishing no matter how much hot water was used for making tea. However, when the monks first discovered that the magic teakettle could sprout the head, tail, and legs of a *tanuki* and dash about the monastery, they sold it. The new owner soon discovered the kettle's metamorphic quality and exhibited it in a travelling show. Eventually, in gratitude for having earned a fortune from the admission fees to the show, he returned the kettle to the monastery. Although the kettle can still be seen at Morinji, for centuries now it has remained in the form of an ordinary teakettle.



Wood and ivory; 19th century; signature: *Sōkoku tō* (carved by Sōkoku); height: 4 cm

## The ghost of Oiwa appearing as a paper lantern

Several kabuki plays include scenes of ghostly faces forming on lit paper lanterns. The 1825 five-act drama, *The Ghost Story of Yotsuya*, incorporates the legendary experiences of a woman named Oiwa who suffered a hideous fate at the hand of her common-law husband, Iemon, but was then able to seek revenge by returning from the dead to haunt him.

Iemon was a *rōnin*, or masterless samurai, reduced to making oilpaper umbrellas for his living. He grew weary of supporting Oiwa and their child during Oiwa's difficult postnatal convalescence, and so he agreed to marry the granddaughter of a wealthy neighbour. The neighbour provided a medicine for Oiwa that was, in reality, a poison. It was a horrible draught that did not kill her immediately but hideously disfigured her. She eventually died bearing great malice for Iemon. At Iemon's wedding, the face of Oiwa's ghost replaced that of his bride, driving Iemon to lop off the head of his new wife. Iemon then killed several other people, again confused by the ghost of Oiwa, and finally he was killed by the lover of Oiwa's sister. Thus all of Iemon's victims were avenged.

The carver of this netsuke, Sakurai Hideyuki, was born in 1941. A lantern transformed into an apparition of Oiwa's face was also used as a subject by several woodblock print designers, including Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849).



Wood, with inlaid eyes; 20th century; signature: *Kōsei Hideyuki*; height: 4.2 cm



## A kappa carrying its favourite vegetable

*Kappa* are imaginary amphibious creatures said to inhabit Japanese marshes. They also lurk in the waterholes of streams and attack horses and people, especially children who disobey warnings about swimming in *kappa*-infested waters. When in a malicious mood, *kappa* can be lethal and enjoy feeding on the livers of their victims. The *kappa* illustrated here, however, is preoccupied with the task of transporting a cucumber, the vegetable that *kappa* like to eat when not dining on livers. (For this reason the cucumber and rice wrapped in dried seaweed available at sushi bars is called *kappa maki*.)

This small wooden netsuke shows the ability of *kappa* to rotate their arm joints a full 360 degrees; their leg joints are equally flexible. Most *kappa* are about the same height as twelve-year-old human children; that is, considerably larger than a cucumber. Although the descriptions of the physical appearance of these creatures varies from region to region in Japan, they are generally thought to have a slippery body covered with blue-green scales, and webbed feet and hands, and to emit a fishy odour. In some parts of the country *kappa* are thought to resemble turtles or otters. When on land they retain their power only as long as the saucer-like indentation on the top of the head is filled with water. Humans can easily render them powerless by bowing to them, for despite their occasional viciousness *kappa* are mannerly and invariably return the bow, thereby spilling the water from their indented heads.



Wood; 19th century; signature: *Ikkyū*; height: 5 cm

## Daruma stretching

Bodhidharma, called Bodai Daruma or simply Daruma in Japanese, left his native India for China in the 6th century A.D., to encourage people to adopt his particular school of Buddhism. Daruma emphasized meditative practices as a method of achieving enlightenment; his teachings gradually developed into the Chan sect of Chinese Buddhism, which when introduced to Japan was called Zen.

This netsuke relates to one of the stories of Daruma's activities in China. He is said to have spent nine years facing a wall in meditation at the Shaolin Buddhist monastery. During this prolonged period of immobility his legs, arms, and eyelids reportedly atrophied. However, the carver of this piece, Itsumin (c. 1830–1870), has given Daruma full use of his limbs as he takes a long deserved stretch after his years of Zen meditation. The large circular earrings are often included among Daruma's attributes and indicate his reputedly aristocratic birth as the third son of the ruler of a kingdom in South India. ❧



Wood with intentional black stain; 19th century; signature: *Itsumin gitō* (carved for amusement by Itsumin); height: 3.5 cm

*Hugh Wylie is a curatorial assistant in the Far Eastern Department, ROM.*

The Gould Collection of Netsuke: Miniature Sculptures from Japan will be on view at the Royal Ontario Museum from 20 February to 23 October 1988. Insurance for this exhibition has been provided by the Department of Communications of the Government of Canada through the Insurance Program for Travelling Exhibitions.



## Gem-quality amethyst found in Ontario

Amethyst, Ontario's gemstone, is the violet or purple variety of quartz. Most of the hundreds of tonnes of amethyst mined each year at Thunder Bay is used for decorative purposes: facings for fireplaces,

polished slabs, bookends, ornaments, tumbled stones for inexpensive jewellery, and handsome crystal specimens that are aesthetically pleasing in their own right. Top grade amethyst gems come from Brazil, Uruguay, and the U.S.S.R. Other countries that produce fine stones are Australia, India, Namibia, and Zambia. However, at least one Ontario mining operation is now finding a few gem-quality crystals

and is studying the best ways of cutting them into gemstones. The ROM has recently acquired a superb twenty-two carat gem, the best of a number of fine stones produced from Thunder Bay in recent years.

Steven W. Lukinuk of the Thunder Bay Amethyst Mine at Elbow Lake, McTavish Township, has been looking for faceting-grade crystals since 1983 when one of his employees, Douglas Stacknick, retrieved a large, clear, block-shaped piece of amethyst from material about to be thrown into the tumbling and polishing cycle. This piece was sent to Paul H. Paulsen who produced the superb twenty-two carat stone, which was then set into an eighteen karat gold ring for the mine owners. They sold it to the ROM in 1987. The amethyst gem is rectangular with the short ends rounded, the crown is step cut, and the pavilion is a mixed cut.

The colour of amethyst ranges from very pale to very deep purple with blue and red highlights (the



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The ROM's twenty-two carat amethyst ring and an amethyst crystal that is 8 cm high.



View of the Thunder Bay Amethyst Mine. The vertical wall to the right of the ladder produced some of the best amethyst.

PHOTOS COURTESY DEPT OF MINERALOGY



so-called Siberian amethyst). The best quality amethyst is deeply coloured material enhanced by flashes of red as the stone is turned. The colour is created by the absorption of certain wavelengths of light caused by slight defects in the orderly arrangement of the silicon and oxygen atoms that make up normal quartz. In pure quartz all the wavelengths of light are transmitted through the crystal and few, if any, of the wavelengths are absorbed. As a result pure quartz, or rock crystal, is transparent and colourless. In amethyst crystals, for every million atoms of silicon and oxygen, there are a few thousand iron atoms present as impurities that do not fit neatly into the atomic arrangement, thereby causing distortions in the structure. These distortions combined with the effect of natural irradiation produce colour centres that absorb the green and yellow wavelengths of the spectrum so that only the purple, red, and blue are transmitted.

The ROM's stone is remarkable in that its colour, viewed through the

table (the broad top surface of the stone), is magnificent, showing deep purple, highlighted by blue and red. Viewed through the side the gem is almost colourless, showing a few very narrow purple colour bands running diagonally from the table down to the bottom of the stone with a similar set crossing them at an angle of about 120 degrees. The colour, seen through the ends of the stone, is also quite pale. It is a tribute to the cutter that he was able to orient the rough material in such a way as to achieve the intense purple colour seen through the table and to hide the small curved veils of inclusions. This superb stone inspired the search for more crystals that could be faceted into fine gemstones.

One of the biggest problems with Thunder Bay crystals is that most are coated with an opaque layer of reddish-brown hematite on or near their outside surfaces, making it impossible to tell if there is any gem-quality material underneath that is suitable for faceting. It is necessary to carefully grind or chip

away the opaque surfaces of each crystal or to saw slices two to three centimetres thick through them in order to assess the quality of the interior. Both methods are expensive and time consuming and even then only a fraction of the good material is usable because most of it contains fractures and inclusions. Methods also had to be developed to properly orient these crystals to produce the best possible colours in the finished product. Donald A. MacFayden, an experienced Toronto gemmologist was commissioned by Mr Lukinuk to study the better grade crystals from the Thunder Bay Amethyst Mine to determine the best orientations.

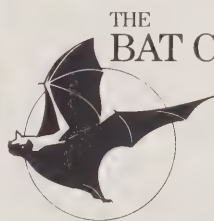
Shortly after the Museum purchased the amethyst ring, Mr Lukinuk and his wife presented the ROM with an exceptionally fine uncut crystal from the "best amethyst pocket," which was found in 1985. It was from a similar crystal, coated with hematite, that the ROM's outstanding twenty-two carat gemstone was faceted.

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Eugene Galien-Laloue: Place de la République, signed — gouache with pencil, 15 3/4 x 20 1/2 in. (39 x 53.8 cm.) Sold by a Canadian consignor at Christie's New York for \$24,407.



# CHRISTIE'S





**Captured Heritage: The scramble for northwest coast artifacts**

Douglas Cole  
Douglas & McIntyre  
373 pp. \$24.95 (cloth)

*Reviewed by Dr James McDonald,  
assistant curator, Department of  
Ethnology, ROM*

*Captured Heritage* is about the trials and tribulations of museum collecting. Written in a gossipy, anecdotal style, each of the eleven chapters is an engaging narrative about the events, professional personalities, and museum fads behind ethnological collecting on the Pacific coast. The pages are packed with valuable information on the founding of the great museums, as well as on the history of anthropology.

Douglas Cole entertainingly depicts an Indiana Jones image of curators and collectors, many of whom devoted their lives—and some of whom lost them—to the pursuit and acquisition of one more treasure to add to their collections. The rivalry between the Smithsonian and the American Museum, the intrusion of French and German competitors, the intrigue surrounding Boas, and the frustrations of the Canadians who did not have sufficient appropriations to com-

pete with the Americans, are all a part of the drama Cole portrays.

Cole is a social historian. In this, his most recent book about cultural contact in British Columbia, he raises questions about how foreign institutions captured the material culture of British Columbia, and why more 19th-century northwest coast art can be found in metropolitan museums throughout the United States and Europe than in the very societies for which it was created.

The colonial world is the backdrop against which Cole reconstructs the social milieu of the museums and of the ethnologists who went into the field. This book is focused not on Indian society but on our own and on the competitive acquisitiveness that has been a cultural peculiarity of the global expansion of Western society.

The first cultural objects that Europeans saw from the north Pacific coast came from the great exploring expeditions of the 18th century (Perez and Malaspina from Spain, Cook and Vancouver from England, Lisianskii from Russia). The government-sponsored voyages brought back relatively few pieces, but these objects sparked curiosity in Europe and the United States.

This interest exploded after an exhibition from British Columbia was installed at the 1876 United States Centennial Exposition. The great scramble for specimens was on. By the time the excitement was spent, the export of Indian artifacts, combined with the ravages of fire, climate, and pests, had stripped the British Columbia coast of much of its indigenous art works.

Supply dropped off within a few decades, but so did demand. As the major institutions decided they had enough northwest coast artifacts, as changing academic fashions distracted anthropologists from material culture, and as the public became more interested in other parts of the world, the market for northwest coast objects, which had been so brisk in 1902, ground to a standstill by 1906. Only a few intrepid collectors stayed in the

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## — BOOK REVIEWS —

field, mainly to supply newer museums.

Prior to this, Canada had not participated in the scramble to any great extent. When the less wealthy, less aggressive Canadian museums entered the field in the 20th century, they did so with innovative approaches, such as restoring totem poles at the village sites. They also managed to make significant collections gleaning antiques from what remained of the aboriginal heritage, and purchasing contemporary objects.

In the 1920s, the director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, C. T. Currelly, chose showy totem poles for the museum's new building and had them built into the main stairways, where they still can be viewed. As the result of the efforts of many collectors, including the legendary Barbeau, Emmons, and Newcombe, our museum now has one of the best collections of west coast materials in Canada.

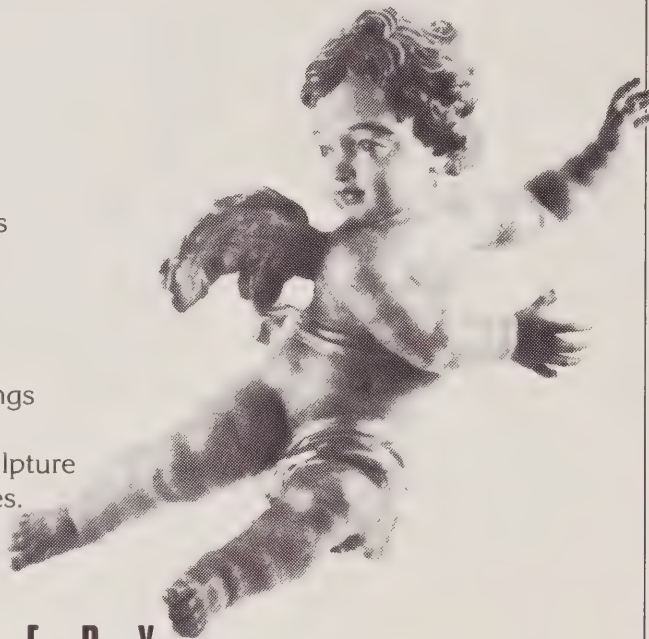
Cole, in seeking to understand museums as agents of cultural contact, examines in close detail the professional activities of the ethnologists and collectors. What were the values that drove them, sometimes causing them to risk their lives? Many of the people were well-intentioned social philosophers and philanthropists who thought that evidence of human diversity had value for scientific study and for the moral education of our industrialized society.

Unfortunately, the 19th-century mind-set was very pessimistic, assuming as it did that the aboriginal cultures would disappear in favour of Western expansion. Because of this ethnocentric fatalism, ethnologists often saw themselves in a race against time, trying to preserve the heirlooms of vanishing cultures.

Thus, people like Franz Boas, the grandfather symbol of American anthropology, could justify the removal of skulls, skeletons, art work, houses, and, on occasion, even living Indians, from Canada's west coast with the homely philosophy that the material had to be taken to save it. This ethnological

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## BOOK REVIEWS

burden was not light. Cole notes that Boas was haunted with second thoughts that caused him horrid dreams.

Well intentioned as these ethnologists were on the one hand, they were also trapped by the culturally determined desires of their own society to amass things. Many field workers were competitively striving to make better collections than their colleagues, and were more concerned with advancing the reputations of their institutions than with the ideal of preserving Indian culture. They also had to think about their own careers. As Cole bluntly notes, very often the bottom line was simple: the trade in skeletons and masks paid the research bills.

*Captured Heritage* describes a frenzy of collecting activity that plundered aboriginal coffers and left entire cultures decimated. True, the ceremonies could still be performed, but they had been tragically gutted, with the ritual objects carefully stored out of reach in the distant museums of New York and Berlin. The heritage had been captured.

Nonetheless Cole points out that with the recent liberalization of Canadian Indian laws and with the subsequent revival of aboriginal societies, a paradox has emerged out of the traditional desire of museums to be preservers of the past. Once the dusty archives for colonialism, museums are now the keepers of a priceless legacy that is integral to the great cultural renaissance currently underway on the Pacific coast. Ethnological collections are no longer smug commemorations of the aboriginal past but are becoming celebrations of the vitality of the aboriginal present.

*Captured Heritage* is a fascinating companion volume to Cole's previous work on colonialism in British Columbia. The thoroughness of his research, the pleasure of his prose, and the uniqueness of this particular case study make the book a welcome contribution to the history of museums and to our understanding of our knowledge about the northwest coast.

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## Twins



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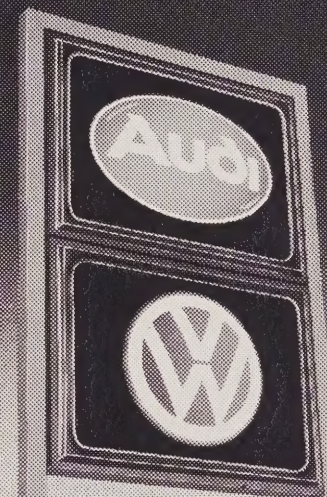
1. Of all the cultures worldwide that have unique practices or beliefs with respect to twins, the best known to twin researchers is the Yoruba in Nigeria. When it comes to twinning, the Yoruba are record setters. What record in particular?
2. Perhaps the strangest pair of twins ever found lives in Austria, and was discovered in 1978. Or rather, the woman who is the personification of the twins was discovered. What is unusual about this pair of twins?
3. The expression "By Jiminy" refers to what famous pair of twins?
4. In Alexander Dumas' novel, *The Man in the Iron Mask*, the man was one of a pair of identical twins, a relationship that condemned him to life in a dungeon. Who was that masked man?
5. The birth of the Dionne quintuplets is considered an extremely rare or perhaps a unique event. Even though the current use of fertility drugs virtually guarantees that other sets of quintuplets will be born, none of them will challenge the Dionnes' uniqueness. Why not?

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1. The Yoruba hold the record for the highest frequency of twin births: one pair in every twenty-two births, as measured in the 1960s. That's about four times the frequency in North America. Add to that a fascinating set of twin rituals and it's no wonder that anthropologists and biologists interested in twinning are fascinated with this culture. In fact, the twinning rate among the Yoruba has dropped dramatically in recent years to one pair in every forty-two births, and the explanation may be chemical.

Research has shown that the yams that made up a large part of the Yoruba diet contain chemicals that resemble estrogens—female hormones. These chemicals might have acted like fertility drugs, increasing the likelihood that more than one egg would be released at one time, and so heightening the possibility of twins. But the Yoruba diet has become increasingly westernized, and as the yams have disappeared from the dinner table, the birth of twins has declined.

2. The woman was actually twins in one body. She was discovered because although her blood was type AB, one of her children had blood type O. That's not possible in the straightforward inheritance of blood groups. Further investigation showed that all the woman's children had some blood and skin markers that couldn't have been inherited from her. It was also shown that the woman's parents had all the necessary genes to account for the children. In fact, you could imagine a child of theirs, say a sister to the woman, who could have passed on all the necessary genetic markers to the next generation. But there was no sister, at least not in the usual sense. The explanation had to be that the woman was actually two people in one: two eggs must have begun development as fraternal twins, but then merged into one, each contributing some tissues to the single embryo. The woman's eggs were one genetic type, her blood and skin cells another.

3. Castor and Pollux. They were the Gemini, and sailors in ancient Greece and Rome used to swear "by Gemini" for safety at sea. Legend had it that Castor and Pollux had sailed with Jason on his ship the Argo, looking for the Golden Fleece, and had it not been for their bravery, the ship would have been lost in a storm. The two stars that we still call Castor and Pollux were named the twins even by the Babylonians, more than four thousand years ago.

4. The man in the iron mask was the identical twin of Louis XIV, the Sun King. At the moment of their birth, their father, fearing eventual conflict over the throne, chose Louis to be the heir, and ordered Philippe to be raised secretly in the country, then imprisoned in the Bastille. During a dramatic sequence of events in the story, Philippe briefly took Louis' place at court, and the two actually met face to face. But only briefly; Louis had the power of the throne, and condemned Philippe to life imprisonment on Ile Ste Marguerite, his face covered forever.

The problem of which twin is the heir to a throne or any position of power has preoccupied various cultures. The Japanese, in the 18th century, probably came up with the most novel solution. It was just too risky to state categorically that the first-born would be the heir. What if the second-born were healthier and more robust? In 1774 this dilemma prompted the obstetrician, Kakuryo Katakura, to suggest that whoever was the weaker of newborn twins had obviously been the "host" in the womb, the healthier the "guest." It would have been proper (and sensible) to select the "guest" as the heir since the Japanese would never ill-treat a guest.

5. The Dionnes were identical quintuplets—all five resulted from one fertilized egg. Fertility drugs cause several eggs to be released from the ovaries at one time, thereby making possible multiple fertilizations and consequently multiple embryos. But these embryos are not identical because they do not result from the splitting of one original egg.

Interestingly, even though the Dionnes were "identical," most doctors who observed them were sure that they could reconstruct the history of the splitting of the egg from the differences in the girls' appearances. Annette and Yvonne were more like each other than the rest, as were Emilie and Marie. Cecile seemed to be the odd one out. Apparently the original embryo split, creating the Annette-Yvonne cluster of cells and the Cecile-Emilie-Marie cluster. The Yvonne and Annette separated, and Cecile split from Emilie-Marie. The evidence that Emilie and Marie were last to separate is that they were mirror images of each other; Marie was right-handed, Emilie left-handed, and Marie had a clockwise hair whorl, while Emilie's hair swirled counter-clockwise. Mirror-image babies are thought to be produced by a very late splitting of an embryo, after right and left sides have been established.



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